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Washington

JOURNAL
OF
COLONEL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDING A DETACHMENT OF VIRGINIA TROOPS,

SENT BY

ROBERT DINWIDDIE,

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA,

ACROSS THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS, IN 1754, TO BUILD FORTS AT THE
HEAD OF THE OHIO. IT COMPRISES THE HISTORY OF MARCHES,
CAMPINGS AND EVENTS, A SKIRMISH WITH THE
FRENCH, AND THE DEATH OF THEIR LEADER,
DE JUMONVILLE.

The Journal fell into the hands of the enemy, who, in 1756, printed a version of it in French; a new translation of this into English is what is here given in the absence of the original. To complete the history of the Expedition

AN APPENDIX

IS ADDED IN THE FORM OF A DIARY, SUPPLYING AN ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE
OF THE GREAT MEADOWS AND THE CAPITULATION OF FORT NECESSITY;
THE RETREAT OF THE ARMY; WITH COPIES OF ORIGINAL MUSTER
AND PAY ROLLS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT, AND OTHER
DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THIS EXPEDITION.

Edited, with Notes,

BY

J. M. TONER, M. D.

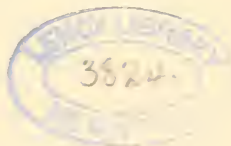
ALBANY, N. Y.:
JOEL MUNSELL'S SONS, PUBLISHERS.

1893.

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NEW YORK
1893

INTRODUCTION.

The real provocation or motive for the armed expedition to the Ohio in 1754 was not frankly stated by the Governor to the Legislative Assembly of Virginia, or in any state paper by the British Ministry, and is only to be gathered from the official letters of Governor Dinwiddie and the correspondence of other parties, well informed in State affairs, of that period. The following extract from a letter written by Governor Dinwiddie to Colonel Thomas Cresap, and dated Williamsburg, January 23, 1752, presents the views then held by the Colony of Virginia as to the obligations it was in duty bound to observe toward the French in the region of the head-waters of the Ohio: "Sir: You herewith will receive the Opinion of the Council in Answer to your Letters. As to making Reprisals for the Robberies done by the French on the Ohio, it is inconsistent with the Laws of Nations, while We are in Peace with France, and your Letter is too general: if you can give a particular Account of the different Robberies, we must apply to the Governor of Canada for Redress; Upon his Refusal, we may proceed in another manner." The Governor shortly after writing this letter became interested in "the Ohio Company," which was a creation of the

British Ministry designed to test the strength and disposition of the French in maintaining their claim to that vast region of country and to see what support measures for asserting a counter-claim would receive from the Colonies. The movement on the part of Virginia was by no means a spontaneous outburst on the part of the people. On the contrary, the measure was set on foot by the Governor, almost without conference, except with his Council, although he solicited aid from the other Colonies soon after he had committed himself to the enterprise. It seems more than probable that the project was inspired more by state-craft and private interest, than from any ambition on the part of Virginia to repel Indian depredations or to acquire additional territory. While the expedition was a war measure, war had not been declared, and the propriety of, and necessity for, the measure were not apparent to, or sympathized in, by the mass of the people in the several Colonies and was, to a great degree, unpopular with the Assemblies of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. The following extract from a letter written on the subject by Governor Dinwiddie in January, 1754, to Lord Fairfax, discloses some of the State motives and, at the same time, shows the indifference of the people. He says: "As the French Forces on the Ohio intend down as far as Logstown early in the spring, I think it is for His M'y's Service and the Protection of the Settlem'ts of this Dom'n to do all in our Power to prevent their building any Forts or

making any Settlem'ts on that river, and more particularly so nigh us as that of the Logstown. I therefore, with Advice of the Council, think proper to send immediately out 200 Men to protect those already sent by the Ohio Comp' to build a Fort, and to resist any Attempts on them. I have Commission'd Major George Washington, the Bearer hereof, to command 100 Men to be rais'd in Frederick County and Augusta, therefore I trouble Y'r L'ds' to direct the Militia of Frederick to be drawn out and fifty Men to be enlisted for that service, that Number probably may voluntarily enlist themselves on this Expedit'n on the Pay settled by Act of Assembly, but if they do not voluntariaily enter on this Service, I think they must ballot, that the Number may be ascertained so as to prevent as far as we can, of being Surpriz'd. When the Men are properly order'd and their Names taken, they may proceed to Alexandria to Maj'r Carlisle, who I have appointed Commissary of Stores and Provisions, who will take proper Care of them."

The drafts and enlistments were so slow and inadequate to the purpose, as to induce Governor Dinwiddie, February 19th, 1754, to issue a proclamation granting two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, to be divided among the officers and men serving in this expedition.

In a letter in answer to Governor Hamilton, who requested of Governor Dinwiddie a specific statement of his purposes on the Ohio, he writes, 27th

of April, 1754: "The Plan of my Operat's is agreeable to His M'y's Com'ds to take Possess'n of the Lands on the Ohio in His Name, to build two Forts. My Order to the Com'd'r in Chief, is to be on the Defensive, but if oppos'd by the Enemy, to desire them to retire; if they sh'd still persist, to repel Force by Force. If You sh'd raise Men, they may be told to submit to the rules and regulat's of the other Forces." [*Pa. Colo. Records*, VI, p. 32.]

The apathy of the people was so great as to amount to opposition, but was, in time, greatly overcome by personal influence, national pride, dislike of the French and fear of Indian atrocities which were pictured as imminent. The theory upon which the English government acted throughout was that the French had no valid claim to the territory or, indeed, any land in America, notwithstanding existing treaties which the British were bound to respect, and they made good these conclusions in a war of expulsion.

THE JOURNAL OF MAJOR WASHINGTON.¹

[Notes in the French edition are copied and referred to by letters, while the editor's notes are referred to by numerals.]

On the 31st of *March* [1754] I received from his Honor(a)² a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission³ of the *Virginia* Regiment, whereof *Joshua Fry*, Esq.⁴ was Colonel, dated the 15th, with Orders to take the troops, which were at the time quartered at Alexandria,⁵ under my command and to march⁶ with them towards the Ohio, there to help Captain *Trent*⁷ to build Forts, and to defend the possessions of his Majesty against the attempts and hostilities(b) of the French.

¹ This is a private journal of Colonel George Washington's, kept by him on his march from Alexandria to the Ohio in the spring of 1754. By mischance and the accidents attending war it fell into the hands of the French. The Journal was in no sense an official one, and even the French rendering of it makes it accord, in all essential points, with his letters to Governor Dinwiddie and to other correspondents. Sparks says the Journal was captured at the battle of the Monongahela. He does not, how-

(a) Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia.

(b) These hostilities had consisted in defending that country against the invasion of the English, and in summoning the latter to withdraw. This note in the French edition of the Journal is omitted in the English translation published by Gain in New York, 1757.

ever, give any authority for this statement. It is doubtless true that some of General Braddock's papers were captured at the battle of Monongahela, and some of Washington's may also have been lost in that engagement. But in the absence of any specified testimony to that effect, that this journal was captured at that time, and there being no reason why Washington should have the Journal of 1754 with him in the campaign of 1755, and the further fact that the record in the Journal is alleged to stop on the 27th of June, the time, Washington's forces began their retreat, I am of the opinion it was lost with his other papers at the battle of the Great Meadows. Again, the period between the date of the last entry and the battle of the Great Meadows was so incessantly occupied as to preclude the giving of any thought to his Journal; but had Washington preserved his Journal after the battle, it would have been according to his usual custom and exactness to have completed it so as to include the history of the campaign to its close and his return to Williamsburg. This view is strengthened by Washington's statement of his losses in a letter to Carter Burwell, Esq., Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House of Burgesses, bearing date the 20th of April, 1755: "For besides the loss of many valuable papers, a valuable servant (who died a few days after of his wounds), my stores, wearing apparel, books & horses, amounting to no trifling sum on the whole, and in which I was in a manner singular by being the only person who got his baggage up before the engagement happened." This letter was written before the Braddock campaign began, and the loss is referred to the engagement of the Great Meadows. A further reference to his loss of papers occurs in the copy

of his first account with the county, rendered to the Assembly of Virginia, preserved in the Department of State, City of Washington, in which the closing item is: "To sundry small disbursements which I cannot recollect or acc^t. for, having lost all my papers in y^e engagement," namely, the battle of the Great Meadows.

² Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia from 1751-7, was born near Glasgow, Scotland, 1693; died near Clifton, England, August 1st, 1770. Having been favored with a good education, he was disciplined to the counting-house and commerce. December 1st, 1727, he was appointed Collector of Customs in the Island of Bermuda, which position he held, under successive commissions, until April 11th, 1738, when, in recognition of his ability and fidelity, he was appointed "Surveyor-General of Customs of the Southern Ports on the Continent of America." In this office he was named, as his predecessors had been, a member of the Councils of the American Colonies. This mandate was recognized by Governor Gooch of Virginia, but the claim was resisted by the Councillors, who refused to allow him to sit with them and transmitted a remonstrance to the King, asking for his exclusion. The Board of Trade in May, 1742, advised that the royal purpose should be adhered to in the matter. He was specially commissioned August 17th, 1743, Inspector-General to examine into the duties and the collection of customs of the Island of Barbadoes and discovered flagrant frauds. In 1749 he appears to have resided in England as a merchant. He was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia July 20th, 1751; and, on his arrival in November following, was warmly welcomed by the State officials. Under his administration the at-

tempt was begun to expel the French from the head of the Ohio Valley, at Fort Duquesne. He was a zealous and vigilant officer, and early discerned the capabilities of George Washington, whom he appointed Adjutant-General of a military district. He was a Loyalist of the sternest stamp. In 1754 he suggested to the British Board of Trade, taxation of the Colonies to raise funds for military defenses, and in 1755 was one of the five Lieutenant-Governors who memorialized the Ministry to the same purpose. He left the Colony in 1758, worn out with vexation, with the cares of office and with age. He was very meddling in military matters, and seemed at times ungenerous enough to be jealous of the popularity of Washington, which left an unpleasant memory behind him. [*Drake, also Brock, in the Dinwiddie Papers.*]

³ George Washington's Commission of Lieutenant-Colonel.—I have not been able to find a copy of this commission.—It is not certain whether the date given in the Journal, March 31st, should be taken as the date of this commission, or of its reception, since Governor Dinwiddie, writing in January, 1754, to Lord Fairfax says that he had "commissioned Major George Washington to command 100 men," etc. Washington was attending to his duties as Lieutenant-Colonel before the 1st of February, 1754. Governor Dinwiddie, in a letter to George Washington, which bears date March 15th, 1754, says: "you have Com'o Lieut. Colo 12^s 6^d p day without any trouble of Commanding a Company." In a letter to the Governor, written from Alexandria March 20th, 1754, Washington acknowledges the receipt of the commission with appreciative remarks. June 4th, of the same year, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel

Washington and sent him his commission as Colonel using the following language: "Sir, on the death of Colonel Fry I have tho' it proper to send you the enclos'd Com'n to Com'd the Virg'a regiment and another for Maj'r Muse to be Lieut. Colo. The oldest Capt. to be Major, and the eldest Lieut. to be Capt., the eldest Ensign to be Lieut., unless you sh'd have Object'n to them."

Washington resigned this latter commission in October, 1754, because under the new military establishment, devised by Governor Dinwiddie, to consist of ten independent companies of 100 men each, there was no grade or rank provided for above that of a Captain, and all Colonial appointments were to be subordinated to officers of whatever rank, holding commissions from the King. The effect of this arrangement was to reduce Colonel Washington to the rank of Captain and to place him under officers he had commanded. To this he would not consent, but quietly retired and remained in private life at Mount Vernon until invited in a letter from General Braddock of March 2nd, 1755, to join his staff as an aide, and in that capacity make the campaign to the Ohio.

⁴Colonel Joshua Fry, born in Somersetshire, England; educated at Oxford, and mentioned as being in Virginia and holding the position of Parish Vestryman and Magistrate in 1710, in Essex county; married Mary, widow of Colonel Hill, an extensive landed proprietor, and daughter of Paul Micou, a Huguenot physician in exile. In 1729 Mr. Fry was appointed Master of the Grammar School of William and Mary College, and subsequently Professor of Mathematics. In 1737 he proposed to the Virginia Assembly, in conjunction with Major Robert Brock

and Major William Mayo, "to make an exact survey of the Colony and print and publish a map thereof, &c., if the House should see fit to encourage the same." Later Mr. Fry appears to have been a member of the House of Burgesses and of the Council. He was Presiding Justice of Albemarle county from 1746 to 1748, and possibly longer; was appointed County Lieutenant March 28th, 1745; and the same year acted with Peter Jefferson as one of the Commissioners of the Crown in marking the line from the head spring of the Potomac river, and defining the western limit of the grant of the "Northern Neck"—the Lord Fairfax landed estate. About this time he assisted with Jefferson in the completion of the map of Virginia known as "Fry & Jefferson's." In 1749 Fry and Jefferson were Commissioners on the part of Virginia to continue the survey of the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina, which had been left in 1728 at Peter's creek. In 1752 he was one of the Commissioners for Virginia at a treaty with the Indians at Logstown, on the Ohio below Pittsburg. He was commissioned in February, 1754, Colonel, and intrusted with the command of the Virginia forces intended to circumvent the purposes of the French on the Ohio. He died from an injury, being accidentally thrown from his horse while marching to the region designated at Will's creek (now Cumberland), May 31st, 1754. He was faithfully attended by Dr. Craik. On his death the command of the expedition devolved wholly upon Washington, as it had been managed by him from its inception. [*Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. 1, p. 7, *Slaughter, Drake*.]

The following is a copy of Colonel Joshua Fry's commission:

"ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Esqr.: His Majesty's Lieuten-

ant-Governor & Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of *Virginia*.

“*To Joshua Fry, Esq.:*

“His Majesty having by His royal Instructions commanded me to send a proper Number of Forces to erect and maintain a Fort at the Fork of Monongahela, a Branch of the River Ohio. And having a good opinion of your Loyalty, Conduct and Ability, I do hereby constitute, appoint and commission you, the said Joshua Fry, to be Colonel & Commander-in-Chief of the Forces now raising and to be called the *Virginia Regiment*, with which, and the Cannon, Armes, Ammunition—necessary Provision & Goods, you are with all possible Dispatch to proceed to the said Forks of Monongahela and there act according to Your Instructions.—And I hereby direct and require all Officers, Soldiers, and others to obey Your Orders and Commands, for which this shall be yours and their warrant.

“Given under my Hand & the Seal of the Colony at Williamsburg the 25th Day of February, in the 27th year of His Majesty's Reign, Annoque Domine 1754.” [*From the original commission now in the possession of Mrs. W. O. Fry, of Charlottesville, Va., 1890.*]

“Instruction's to Joshua Fry, Esqr., Colo. and Com'r-in-Chief of the Virg'a Regiment.

“Mar., 1754.

“Sir: The Forces under Y'r Com'd are rais'd to protect our frontier Settlements from the incursions of the French and the Ind's in F'dship with them. I therefore desire You will with all possible Expedition repair to Alexandria on the Head of the Poto. River, and

there take upon You the com'd of the Forces accordingly; w'ch I Expect will be at that Town the Middle of next Mo. You are to march them to will's Creek, above the Falls of Poto. from thence with the Great Guns, Amunit'n and Provisions. You are to proceed to Monongahela, when ariv'd there, You are to make Choice of the best Place to erect a Fort for mounting y'r Cannon and ascertain'g His M'y the King of G. B's undoubt'd right to those Lands. My Orders to You is to be on the Defensive and if any foreign Force sh'd come to annoy You or interrupt Y'r quiet Settlem't, and building the Fort as afores'd, You are in that Case to represent to them the Powers and Orders You have from me, and I desire they w'd imediately retire and not to prevent You in the discharge of your Duty. If they sh'd continue to be obstinate after your desire to retire, you are then to repell Force by Force. I expect a Number of the Southern Indians will join you on this expedit'n, w'ch with the Indians on the Ohio, I desire You will cultivate a good Understanding and Correspondence with, supplying them with what Provisions and other Necessaries You can spare; and write to Maj'r Carlyle w'n You want Provisions, who has my Orders to purchase and Keep a proper Magazine for Your dem'ds. Keep up a good Com'd and regular Discipline, inculcate morality and Courage in Y'r Soldiers that they may answer the Views on w'ch they are rais'd. You are to constitute a Court Martial of the Chief of Your Officers, with whom You are to advise and consult on all Affairs of Consequence; and as the Fate of this Expedition greatly depends on You, from the Opinion I have of Your good Sense and Conduct, I refer the Management of the whole to You with the Advice of the

Court Martial. Sincerely recommending You to the Protection of God, wishing Success to our just Designs, I heartily wish You farewell."

⁵ Alexandria, formerly "Bell Haven," was included within the original grant of 6,000 acres of land fronting and lying along the Potomac river from Hunting creek up to Pomit's run, nearly opposite Georgetown, from Sir William Berkeley, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, to Robert Howson, in October, 1669. In the same year, Mr. Howson, for the consideration of six hogsheads of tobacco, conveyed these lands to John Alexander, who, with his two brothers, Robert and Gerard, had emigrated from Scotland to Virginia and were then seated upon their property.

"A tobacco-rolling house," as such storage or warehouse was called in this part of Virginia, because of the mode of rolling the hogsheads of tobacco on their own periphery, was soon after established near the mouth of Hunting creek, and was for a time known as "Hunting Creek Warehouse," but later, as it grew to be a favorite shipping port for the upper Potomac plantation, as "Bell Haven." Finally, as the village grew in importance, and the influence and large land possessions of the Alexanders increased, it came to be known as Alexandria. The laying out of the town was authorized by Act of Assembly in 1748, while Major Lawrence Washington was a member of the House of Burgesses, and it was regularly organized as a town in 1749. George Washington was a member of its Board of Trustees in 1763. It became a corporation under the name of Alexandria by an Act of the Assembly of Virginia in 1779. When the ten miles square was selected for the permanent seat of the govern-

ment of the United States, a part of Alexandria, then in Fairfax county, fell within the District. But in 1846, by Act of Congress, all that part of the District lying south of the Potomac was retroceded to Virginia, and that portion which, for a time, was in the District of Columbia, is now known as Alexandria county.

GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR
WASHINGTON.

*"Instruct's to be observ'd by Maj'r Geo. Washington,
on the Expedi't'n to the Ohio.*

"MAJ'R GEO. WASHINGTON: You are forthwith to repair to the Co'ty of Frederick and there to take under Y'r Com'd 50 Men of the Militia who will be deliver'd to You by the Comd'r of the s'd Co'ty pursuant to my Orders. You are to send Y'r Lieut. at the same Time to the Co'ty of Augusta, to receive 50 Men from the Comd'r of that Co'ty as I have order'd, and with them he is to join You at Alexandria, to which Place You are to proceed as soon as You have rec'd the Men in Frederick. Having rec'd the Detachm't, You are to train and discipline them in the best Manner You can, and for all Necessaries You are to apply Y'rself to Mr. Jno. Carlisle at Alex'a who has my Orders to supply You. Having all Things in readiness You are to use all Expedition in proceeding to the Fork of Ohio with the Men under Com'd and there you are to finish and compleat in the best Manner and as soon as You possibly can, the Fort w'ch I expect is there already begun by the Ohio Comp'a. You are to act on the Defensive, but in Case any Attempts are made to obstruct the Works or interrupt our Settlem'ts by any Persons

whatsoever You are to restrain all such Offenders, and in Case of resistance to make Prisoners of or kill and destroy them. For the rest You are to conduct Y'rself as the Circumst's of the Service shall require and to act as You shall find best for the Furtherance of His M'y's Service and the Good of His Dom'n. Wishing You Health and Success I bid you Farewell." [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 59.*]

⁷ Captain William Trent was a native of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, born about 1715. His father was a distinguished citizen of the State. Captain Trent entered the military service of Pennsylvania under a commission from Governor Thomas in 1746, serving against Canada under the immediate orders of Governor Clinton. The following year he was honorably discharged, receiving the thanks of the Assembly. In 1749 he was appointed by Governor Hamilton, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of Peace, for Cumberland county, Pa., and the same year was employed as a confidential messenger to the Ohio Indians to deliver messages of good will and presents from the government of Pennsylvania. For this service he was paid by the Legislature £245. In 1750 Captain Trent formed a co-partnership with his brother-in-law, Colonel George Croghan, and others, and engaged in trade with the Indians on the Ohio. The firm was prosperous and it was said Dr. Benjamin Franklin was a member of the company. The Governor of Virginia also employed Captain Trent, because of his thorough acquaintance with the Indians on the Ohio river, as an agent to attend his Commissioners at a treaty with the Indians in 1752 at Logstown, below the forks of the Ohio. Before this treaty was con-

cluded he was dispatched with messages and presents to the Miami Indians. [*See Trent's Journal.*] In August, 1753, he was authorized by Governor Dinwiddie to examine the site selected by the Commissioners in 1752 for a fort near the forks of the Ohio and to report. In September of the same year he was present at a treaty with Indians at Winchester, Va., and was selected as one of three, the others being Andrew Montour and Christopher Gist, to deliver presents to the Miami and Delaware Indians. Early in the spring of 1754, Governor Dinwiddie commissioned him to raise a company of 100 men for immediate service and directed him to protect and assist the Ohio Company or himself to erect a fort with his command at the forks of the Ohio. His men were to be recruited from the immediate vicinity and some of them were in his nominal or actual employment. John Frazer, who resided at the mouth of Turtle creek, on the Monongahela, was commissioned his Lieutenant and Edward Ward, his Ensign. The complement of men was not obtained, but work was begun on the fort. When, on the 17th of February, in the absence of Captain Trent, and also Lieutenant Frazer, Ensign Ward, was suddenly summoned by a superior force of French and Indians to depart, a demand to which he was obliged to submit, Trent was severely censured by Governor Dinwiddie for being absent from his post and ordered to be court-martialed, but he was never brought to trial. In 1761 Captain Trent had presented to the Assembly of Virginia a claim against the Province for money expended under engagements with Governor Dinwiddie. The following is the report to the House of Burgesses on the matter from a committee to consider the merits

of the claim. Journal April 9th, 1761: "Mr Pendleton reported that the Committee appointed had, according to order, inquired whether any and what Part of a Judgment recovered in the General Court by William Trent, Gent., against the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., late Lieutenant-Governor of this Colony, ought to be paid by the Publick; and that they had agreed on a Report, and come to a Resolution thereon, which he read in his place, and then delivered in at the table, where the same were again read, and are as follows:

"It appears to your Committee that Mr. Trent's claim for £401-2-9½, Part of his Recovery, was for his expense and trouble in carrying out presents of Goods for the Indians at two several times by order of the Governour and Council; that this Claim of £291-5-10 was for the pay and Provisions of himself and a Company of Men under his Command, raised by order of the said Lieutenant-Governour, before the first Virginia Regiment was established, and who afterwards were enlisted into the said Regiment, and that £107-11-4½, the residue of his recovery of £800, was allowed by the Jury for interest on those sums, of which interest £45-2-2 accrued on the said sum of £291-5-10.

"Resolved, that it is the Opinion of this Committee that the said sum of £291-5-10 ought to be paid by the Publick, but no Part of the Interest as Application was never made to this House for Payment of the said Money; and it was a transaction entirely between the said Lieutenant-Governour and Council, and the said Trent.

"The said Resolution being read a second time, and the Question put that the House agree thereto, it passed in the Negative."

Captain Trent met with heavy losses in the Indian trade, and it is believed he died poor. He was a patriot in the Revolution and held a Major's commission at Fort Pitt in July, 1776. In 1778 while on his way from Ft. Pitt he was taken ill at his house in Cumberland Co., Pa., and is buried in an old graveyard at "Silver Spring Church." [*See Journal of Wm. Trent.*]

April the 2nd Every Thing being ready, we began our march according to our Orders, the 2nd of April with two Companies of Foot, commanded by Captain *Peter*⁸ *Hog* and Lieutenant *Jacob Van Braam*,⁹ five subalterns, two Sergeants, six Corporals, one Drummer, and one hundred and twenty Soldiers, one Surgeon,¹⁰ one *Swedish* Gentleman,¹¹ who was a volunteer, two wagons guarded by one Lieutenant, Sergeant, Corporal and twenty-five Soldiers.

⁸ Captain Peter Hog or Hogg, son of James, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1703. He is believed to have been a near relative of the famous "Ettrick Shepherd." He and his brothers James and Thomas came to America about 1745, and settled in Augusta county, Virginia. Peter married Elizabeth Taylor March 9th, 1754; he was commissioned a Captain, served with Washington in his expedition of 1754, was at the capitulation of Fort Necessity, and his name is included among the officers who received the thanks of the Assembly of Virginia for their brave defense of English rights. In 1756 he was actively engaged in the construction of a line of frontier forts which were ordered by the Assembly. [*See Washington's instructions to him July 21st, 1756.*] He took

part, also, in the Sandy Creek Expedition the same year, and served continuously in the Virginia regiment until the fall of Fort Duquesne. On leaving the military service he studied law and was admitted to the bar May 10th, 1759. Lord Dunmore appointed him Deputy to the Attorney-General for the county of "Dunmore" in 1772, which being renamed in 1777, is now known as Shenandoah county, Va. He received 2,000 acres of land under the Dinwiddie proclamation. He also owned, on the Ohio river, a tract of 8,000 acres, near Point Pleasant, and another large tract in Mason county, Ky. [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, 470.*]

⁹ Captain Jacob Van Braam, a native of Holland, was trained to arms and served under Admiral Vernon in the Carthagena Expedition, in the same department of the British army with Major Lawrence Washington. Having heard much from the Virginia regiment in favor of the land of promise in Virginia, at the end of his military engagement he removed there and was engaged to some extent in teaching military tactics. Jacob Van Braam was a "Mason" and attended the same lodge in Fredericksburg at which Washington became a member of that order; both are recorded as present at a meeting September 1st, 1753. Major George Washington, when starting on his journey in the fall of 1753 to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's letter or summons to the French commandant on the Ohio, found Capt. Van Braam at Fredericksburg, and engaged him as an attendant on the journey. He again served under Washington in the expedition to the Ohio in 1754, enlisting as a Lieutenant, but, having seen much service, he acted in the capacity of a Captain, to which rank he was advanced and proved himself

efficient. Captain Van Braam and Captain Stobo, both of whom were in the engagement at the Great Meadows and the capitulation of Fort Necessity July 3d, 1754, were retained as hostages by the French. From an unfortunate miswording in his translation to Washington of the articles of surrender, and particularly in the expression "assassination," which he rendered "killing," of Jumonville, who fell in the skirmish of May 28th, 1754, Van Braam has been much censured, and his fidelity to the British cause has even been questioned. On the matter of the mis-translation Washington wrote, March 27th, 1757: "That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word assassination I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present." War had not been declared between France and England, and the French prisoners taken by Washington were sent to Governor Dinwiddie at Williamsburg, who held them as trespassers or prisoners of State. The Governor made but one effort for the exchange or release of Captains Van Braam and Stobo by sending a flag of truce to Fort Duquesne and offering to send Monsieur Druillon, of the rank of Major, and two Cadets, then prisoners, for the return of the two Captains. This offer was declined, and Captains Van Braam and Stobo were sent to Canada. The latter escaped from prison and the former was released on the surrender of Montreal, in 1760. The *Virginia Gazette* of November 8th, 1760, announces the arrival in Williamsburg of Captain Van Braam. His name had been omitted in the resolutions of thanks to the officers and men for their good conduct in the battle of the Great Meadows. Distrust in his loyalty must have given place to sympathy for his long suffering, and his

want of familiarity with the French language became the explanation of his mis-translation, else he would not have regained the confidence of the Governor of Virginia as he did (*see Journal House of Burgesses, March 24th, 1761*): "On motion made, *Resolved*, That the sum of £500 be paid by the Treasurer of this Colony to Captain Jacob Van Braam over and above the Ballance of his Pay that is due to him to this time, as a Compensation for his sufferings during a long and painful Confinement as a Hostage in the Enemy's Country. *Ordered*, That the said Resolution be engrossed, and that Mr. Bland do carry it up to the Council for their Concurrence." And on March 30th, 1761, the Journal shows that "On motion made, *Resolved, nemine contradicente*, that an humble Address, be made to His Honour the Governour to desire that he will be pleased to take Capt. Jacob Van Braam, who has undergone a long and severe Captivity in Canada, to his special Favor and Protection, and recommend him for Promotion in His Majesty's Service; and that Mr. Charles Carter and Mr. Bland do wait on his Honour with the said address." On the 2d of April, 1761, "Mr. Charles Carter reported that he had, according to order, waited on His Honour the Governour with the Address of this House in Favour of Capt. Van Braam, to which His Honour was pleased to answer that he would recommend him to Lord Halifax and Mr. Secretary Pitt for Promotion in His Majesty's service." The Journal of the House of Burgesses further shows that on April 10th, 1761, "His Honour" likewise gave his assent to the above resolution for extra pay as indemnity to Capt. Van Braam. His claim to land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation of February, 1754, was duly allowed, and he received 9,000 acres. He was made

Major of the 30th Battalion of the 60th Foot of Royal Americans stationed, in 1777, in the West Indies. [*Brock, Dinwiddie Papers, Journl. House Burgesses, etc.*]

¹⁰ James Craik, surgeon in the Virginia regiment in the armed expedition to the Ohio in 1754, was born at Abigland, Scotland, in 1730, and died on his plantation "Vaucluse," near Alexandria, in Fairfax county, Va., February 6th, 1814. He was educated at Edinburgh, graduating both in letters and in medicine at the University. On leaving college he went, as surgeon in the army, to the West Indies, but shortly after resigned, and, removing to Virginia, began the practice of his profession at Norfolk. It was from there that he received his appointment to the Virginia regiment in the spring of 1754. His name appears on some of the pay-rolls as an Ensign and on others as a Lieutenant, while he was also acting as Surgeon. The reason or explanation of this seems to be the scarcity of trained officers, combined with the Doctor's zeal for the success of the expedition and his desire to make a penny, for he seems to have been paid for both services. [*See the Rolls of officers and men at the end of the Journal.*] In reference to Dr. Craik's serving as an Ensign, Governor Dinwiddie, in a letter to Colonel Fry of May 5th, 1754, uses the following language: "The appointing of Mr. Craik, Y'e surgeon, to be an Ensign I leave to your option, or any other you think proper." [*Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 171.*] Doctor Craik marched with Colonel Washington and his two companies from Alexandria to Will's creek, and over the Alleghany Mountains, was with him in his operations on the Monongahela, and in the battle of the Great Meadows. His name is included among the officers

of the Virginia regiment thanked by the House of Burgesses for their bravery at the latter battle and he also received his proportion of land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation. The plot of this survey in Washington's handwriting is among the Washington papers in the Department of State. Surgeon Fleming held the rank of Ensign in Major Lewis's command and attended as a surgeon Captain Hogg's company. [*See Washington's letter to John Robinson, November 9, 1756.*] The Reverend Mr. Slaughter in his Life of Colonel Fry, says Dr. Craik attended him in his last illness. Upon his return to Will's creek with the troops after the capitulation of Fort Necessity, he was stationed at Winchester where he also engaged in private practice. The next year he marched with the Virginia regiment in the Braddock Expedition, and again on his return practiced at Winchester. From there he removed to a plantation he purchased below Alexandria in Maryland. But upon Washington's suggestion he located, about the close of the Revolution, in Alexandria, where he enjoyed an extensive practice and was on terms of intimate friendship with Washington to the close of the latter's life. In 1760 he married Mariamna Ewell, daughter of Colonel Charles Ewell. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he entered the service as Surgeon and rose to the first rank. In 1777 he was active in unveiling a conspiracy to remove the Commander-in-Chief. He was made Director-in-Chief of the Military Hospitals at Yorktown in 1781. Toward the close of his life he spent much of his time on his plantation, "Vaucluse," about five miles from Mount Vernon. Dr. Craik named one of his sons George Washington. This son studied medicine, but abandoned the practice to act as private

secretary to President Washington during his second term. Dr. Craik was remembered in affectionate terms by General Washington in his will as his "old and intimate friend," and given a chair and desk.

¹¹ This Swedish gentleman is supposed to have been Carolus Gustavus de Spiltdorph. He seems to have been included among Washington's troops from the start. Acting as Ensign, he was sent with Lieutenant West and a guard of soldiers to convey the prisoners taken in the de Jumonville skirmish, and was then spoken of by Washington as Mr. Spiltdorph. He was in the battle of the Great Meadows, but is not mentioned among the officers who were thanked by the House of Burgesses. He was, however, only commissioned Ensign July 21st, 1754, and October 29th, the same year, was made Lieutenant. He served in this rank in the Braddock expedition, and was killed at the battle of the Monongahela.

We left *Alexandria* on Tuesday Noon and pitched our tents about four miles from *Cameron*¹² having marched six miles.

(From the 3rd of April to the 19th of said month¹³ this Journal only contains the march of the troops, and how they were joined by a detachment which was brought by Captain *Stevens*.)¹⁴

April 19th Met an Express who had letters from Captain *Trent*, at the *Ohio*, demanding a reinforcement with all speed, as he hourly expected a body of eight hundred *French*. I tarried at *Job Pearsall's*¹⁵ for the arrival of the troops when they came the

next day. When I received the above Express, I dispatched a Courier to Colonel *Fry*, to give him notice of it.

¹² Cameron was the name of Mr. Charles Broadwater's estate on Cameron run, near Alexandria, in Fairfax county, Va. There is also a Cameron parish in Loudoun county, Va. The patent for these lands was granted in 1720-1. Mr. Broadwater is recorded as voting at an election in Fairfax county in 1748. He was a Scotchman and it was understood gave his estate the name of the clan to which his family belonged. The name has also been given to a considerable stream known as Cameron run, and to one of the chief streets in Alexandria. In the last century there was on the level bottom of this estate a fine race course, at which parties owning racing stock annually congregated for the test of speed. General Washington in his Diaries records the fact that he attended races here in 1769 and 1770.

¹³ This French version of the Journal omits every thing recorded in it between the 3rd and the 19th of April, dismissing the subject with the remarks contained within the brackets. The route marched over by Colonel Washington will be given in another note.

¹⁴ General Adam Stephen was born about 1718 in the State of Pennsylvania, died and was buried on his own plantation in Virginia in 1791. His farm is now in part embraced within the limits of the town of Martinsburg, Berkeley county, Va. His will bears date June 5th, 1791, and was admitted to probate in November following. As early as 1738 he migrated to what is now Berkeley county, and took up large

bodies of fine land, deriving his title from Lord Fairfax. The *New York Magazine* in noticing the death of Adam Steven, Esq., says he was widely known and highly esteemed for his medical talents, his learning and mental endowments. [*New York Magazine, August, 1791, p. 488.*] This is the only reference I have seen to him as a physician. He had a taste for military life and served with Washington in the Expedition of 1754, joining him at or near Winchester or en route to Will's creek. During the campaign he was promoted to be Major, was in the battle of the Great Meadows, and is named as of that rank in the vote of thanks by the House of Burgesses to Colonel Washington and the officers under his command for their gallant and brave behavior in the engagement. After the death of Colonel Fry, the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Muse, and the promotion of George Washington to be Colonel in command of the Virginia regiment, Major Stephen was made Lieutenant-Colonel with Andrew Lewis as Major. Colonel Stephen remained for a time with the regiment on their return to Will's creek and during the fall recruited the regiment. The following year he went out with the Virginia troops in the Braddock campaign, was in the disastrous battle of the Monongahela, and afterward was stationed for a time at Fort Cumberland. In 1756, being sent in command of some Virginia troops against the Creek Indians in South Carolina, he acquitted himself with much credit. Later in the same year he was placed in command of a detachment of troops to defend the frontier of Virginia. He served as Lieutenant-Colonel in command of the regiment under Colonel Washington from 1756 to the close of 1758 and the fall of Fort Duquesne. Colonel Stephen petitioned

the House of Burgesses for himself and the surviving part of the detachment of his regiment to be reimbursed for the loss of their arms, blankets and clothing on the occasion of Grant's defeat in the skirmish before Fort Duquesne. Mr. Withe from the committee reported that the allegations set forth in the petition were true and that the surviving members of the regiment in that action ought to be allowed £175 for their losses. [*See Journal House of Burgesses, March 20th, 1759.*] In 1764 charges were preferred by Thomas Rutherford against Colonel Adam Stephen for a sort of speculation in the use of the Militia to escort and guard wagons carrying his own personal property to Fort Cumberland and Fort Bedford, outside the Colony of Virginia. He was acquitted of the main charges and complimented for his bravery and activity, but censured for a breach of duty in sending the Militia beyond the Province. [*Journal House Burgesses, December 15th, 1764.*] On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, he was commissioned a Colonel of one of the Virginia regiments. In September, 1776, he was made a Brigadier-General, and on February 19th, 1777, a Major-General. He served with the main body of the army, enjoyed the confidence of General Washington, and was a vigilant, brave and efficient officer; but, yielding to the bad habit of drinking, was reported, court-martialed, convicted and dismissed from the army. He then retired to his plantation, where he passed a useful and honorable life. He did much to advance the interests of his section of the State in the organization of the new county of Berkeley. He warmly espoused the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and in the convention held for its consideration made an able speech in its favor.

¹⁵ Job Pearsal was one of the first settlers on the south branch of the Potomac, at or near the site of the present town of Romney. His cabin, on the right bank of the stream, was surrounded by a stockade, which in 1756 was enlarged to a garrison and troops were stationed there by the direction of Colonel Washington. This was on the line of the main road between Winchester, the forts on Patterson creek, Oldtown and Fort Cumberland. It is presumed that it was here that the junction of Washington's forces which composed the Virginia regiment took place. He set out with two companies; three others joined him en route or were brought up to him by Major Muse.

April 20th Came down to Colonel *Cresap's*¹⁶ to order the Detachment, and on my Route, had notice that the Fort was taken by the French. That news was confirmed by Mr *Ward*,¹⁷ the Ensign of Captain *Trent*, who had been obliged to surrender to a Body of one thousand *French* and upwards, under the Command of Captain *Contrecoeur*,¹⁸ who was come from *Venango*¹⁹ *Presque Isle(c)* with sixty bateaux, and three hundred canoes, and who having planted eighteen pieces of Cannon against the Fort, afterwards had sent him a Summons to withdraw.²⁰

Mr *Ward* also informed me that the Indians kept steadfastly attached to our Interest. He brought two young *Indian* Men with him, who were *Mingoes*,

that they might have the Satisfaction to see that we were marching with our troops to their succor.

¹⁶ Colonel Thomas Cresap of Old Town, Maryland, and the founder of the Cresap family in America, was born in Skipton, Yorkshire, England. At the age of 15 he came to America, and when about 30 married a Miss Johnson at a point now known as Havre-de-Grace, Md., on the Susquehanna. With a desire to better his condition, he made a visit to Virginia and engaged to rent a farm from the Washington family. His wife's dislike, however, to remove so far, led him to locate higher up the Susquehanna, where he secured a tract of some 500 acres of good land on the "Peach Bottom," and built himself a small stone house.

His land title from Maryland, however, proved defective, Pennsylvania asserting and maintaining her claims, to which, after much litigation, he was obliged to submit. From there he removed to a tract of some 1,400 acres of fine land on the Antietam creek, called "Long Meadows," in what is now Washington county, Md., which he improved, and then began to trade with the Indians. He borrowed £500 from Mr. Dulany to invest in furs and skins, which he shipped to England, but, unfortunately, the ship was captured by the French and his whole fortune sunk. To repay the money borrowed of Mr. Dulany he transferred to the latter his farm, and himself removed to a more western venture, at "Old Town," in Maryland, nearly opposite the mouth of the south branch of the Potomac. Here he acquired a large body of land on both sides of the river, calling it at first "Skipton," for his native town, and conducted a profitable trade with the Indians. He had

become familiar with the art of surveying and held a commission to survey from Prince George's county, Md., which now included the whole of the western part of the State. With the aid of a noted Indian, named Nemacolin, he marked the line for the first road for the "Ohio Company" across the Alleghany Mountains. He was well established at the "Shawanese Old Town," where the project of organizing "the Ohio Company" was devised. He became one of the most valued members with Lawrence and Augustine Washington and others as proprietors. This company prospered for a time and was one of the chief agents which brought about the expulsion of the French from the Ohio and the lakes, trained the Colonies to arms and generalship, and finally wrought the independence of America. Colonel Cresap did much surveying for his section; in 1749 he surveyed Walnut Bottoms, just below the mouth of Will's creek, for Governor Bladen of Maryland. He was frequently called upon by his county to represent it in the Legislature and was reported one of the best members in that body. He was twice married; the second time at the age of 80. By his first wife he had five children—three sons and two daughters. He understood the habits of the Indians, spoke their language and was popular with them. He lived to the exceptional age of 105 and died highly respected. [*Jacobs' Life of Captain Michael Cresap and other sources.*]

¹⁷ Ensign, afterward Major Edward Ward, was an officer of Captain Trent's company, which was ordered by Governor Dinwiddie to protect the "Ohio Company" and assist them in constructing a fort at the forks of the Ohio, now Pittsburg, in the spring of 1754. A small force was enlisted and work begun

in accordance with the Governor's instructions. On the 17th of April, 1754, in the absence of Captain Trent and Lieutenant Frazier, Ensign Ward was summoned by a superior French force under Captain Contrecoeur to evacuate the works and depart. This order he was obliged to obey. He arrived at Will's creek with his men on the 22d April, where Lieutenant-Colonel Washington met him and learned from him all the particulars of the surrender. This information induced Lieutenant-Colonel Washington to call a council of war on the 23d to determine what course to pursue under all the circumstances. The result of this conference, together with a letter, Ensign Ward bore to Williamsburg to Governor Dinwiddie, who was greatly irritated by the news, and in a letter to Colonel Fry in May, 1754, uses the following language: "I am advised that Captain Trent, and his Lieutenant, Frasier, have been long absent from their duty, leaving Ensign Ward with ab't 23 men to guard the workmen whilst preparing materials to erect the fort begun and [who was] obliged to surrender on the summons of a French Com'd'r, which conduct and behavior I require and expect you will inquire into at a Court-Martial and give sentence accordingly."

¹⁸ Captain M. de Contrecoeur, belonging to the French military forces in Canada, was sent early in the spring of 1754 to construct a fort at the forks of the Monongahela and the Allegheny rivers. When he arrived, he found a small force at work, under Ensign Ward, erecting a fort for the English. Captain Contrecoeur at once invested the place and summoned Ward to surrender possession and depart. This he was obliged to do April 17th, 1754. Captain Contrecoeur continued the work and named it, when

completed, Fort Duquesne. June 23d, he sent out Ensign de Jumonville and a small force with instructions to reconnoiter the region as far as the crest of the Allegheny Mountains, and to serve a summons upon any English forces he should meet to quit the territory of the French. This party was encountered by Colonel Washington June 28th, a skirmish ensued and de Jumonville was killed. Captain de Contrecoeur was in command at Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's defeat. He was a capable officer and full of zeal for his king.

¹⁹ Venango is the name of an Indian town at the mouth of French creek, where it enters the Allegheny river. Here the French in 1751 or '52 constructed a fort and trading post, which was destroyed in August, 1759, and then occupied as a British post. It is now the site of the town of Franklin, the capital of Venango county, Pa.

²⁰ " A summons sent by order of M. de Contrecoeur, captain of one of the Independent Companies of the detachment of Marines, Commander-in-Chief of his Christian Majesty's troops now at the Ohio, to the Commander of those troops belonging to the King of Great Britain, whereof M. le Mercier was Bearer, the 16th of April, 1754:

" Nothing can surprise me more than to see you thus attempt to settle on the territories of the King my Master; 'tis that which obliges me this Day to send you M. Le Mercier, Captain of the Cannoneers, and Commander of the Artillery in Canada, that he may know, Sir, from yourself, by virtue of what orders you are erecting Forts on the Territories of the King my Master. This Motion appears to me so contrary to the last treaty of Peace concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, between his most Christian Majesty, and his

Majesty the King of Great Britain, that I know not to whom I shall impute such usurpation ; since those Lands which are situated along the river Ohio, beyond all dispute belong to the most Christian King.

“ I am certainly informed, Sir, that your schemes are contrived only by a company who hath the interest of trade more in view than to maintain the Union and Harmony existing between the crowns of Great Britain and France ; though, sir, the Maintenance thereof, may be as advantageous to your nation as to ours.

“ However, sir, if you come vested with any orders to this place, I summons you from the King my Master, by virtue of the orders which I have from my General, peaceably to withdraw yourself, and your troops, from the King’s territories ; if not, I shall be under the necessity, for the performance of my duty, to oblige you thereto. I hope, sir, you will not prolong the time, and thereby force me to Extremes. You may, sir, in that case, be fully persuaded, I shall give such orders to my Detachment, that you shall receive no damage thereby.

“ Sir, I give you notice now, that it will be to no purpose to demand one hour’s Delay, or to expect I shall consent to your stay, until you receive Orders from your Governor, for none he can give upon the Lands of the King my Master. The orders I have received from my General are a Law to me ; therefore, sir, I cannot go from them.

“ But if, on the Contrary, you have no orders ; if you are only come here to trade, I am sorry to inform you that I am obliged to seize your person, and confiscate your effects to the use of the Indians, who are our children, our allies, and our friends, as you are not permitted to follow any illicite Trade.

“ It was for that very reason, sir, that two Englishmen were by us arrested last year for trading on our Lands. Furthermore, the King my Master demands only what is his right. His intentions are not to interrupt that good Harmony and Friendship subsisting between his Majesty and the King of Great Britain. The General of Canada can give proofs in what Manner he concurreth to keep up the Union existing between the two Princes; for having been informed that some Indians of the Six Nations, in company with some Nepissengues, from the Lake of the two Mountains, had fallen upon, and destroyed an English Family towards Carolina, he stopped their Passage, and obliged them to deliver him up a little boy belonging to that Family, and who was the only one left alive; he was brought back to Boston, by Mr Ulerich, who was then upon some Negotiation at Montrial.

“ Moreover, he has strictly forbidden all Indians to exercise their usual Cruelties on those English who are our friends. I could complain, sir, of the many Solicitations you have made last year to the Indians, to take up the Hatchet against us, whilst we were busy in maintaining Peace.

“ Sir, I am persuaded that you will receive M le Mercier, in a polite manner, on account of his Commission, as also of his Distinction and personal merit; and I expect you will send him back to me with one of your officers, who will bring me an exact answer, signed by yourself. As you have Indians with you, I send an Interpreter with M. le Mercier, that he may acquaint them with my intentions on their account.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) CONTRECEUR

Done at Our Camp, the 16th of April, 1754.

[From "*Memoire contenant le Precis des Facts, &c.*"
Translated and printed by Gaine, N. Y., 1757, p. 65.]

He also delivered me the following speech which the *Half King* sent to me.(d)²¹

Fort on Ohio, April 18th, 1754.

A speech from the Half-King, Scruneyattha,²² and belt of wampum, for the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

My Brethren the English. The Bearer will let you understand in what manner the *French* have treated us. We waited a long time, thinking they would come and attack us; we now see how they have a mind to use us.(e)

²¹ Half-King was one of the titles of Tenacharison, a chief of the Senecas, or Mingoës, as the English traders called them, who was also spoken of as "the old King." He was an astute diplomatist, a brave warrior, had great influence among his people and was devoted to English interests. Frequently consulted by Washington, he was with the party that attacked de Jumonville and was credited, in certain quarters, with having slain that French officer with his hatchet; but this was without any foundation in fact. He was very proud of the name "Dinwiddie" conferred on him by Colonel Washington in recog-

(d) This Half King was an Indian chief to whom the English had given the title, and whom they had greatly excited against the French.

(e) Behold here is a confession of the goodness with which the *French* had treated the *Indians* which had revolted. Those *Indians* expected to be pursued; surprised at the indulgence of the *French* they propose to attack them themselves and acquaint the *English* of their resolution.

nition of his services. As a part of the ceremony of investing him with this name, he was decorated with a medal sent by the Governor to the commander of the forces to be given to those Indians who were loyal to the English. When Washington first visited the Ohio in 1753, the Half-King had his hunting cabin on Little Beaver creek near the dividing line between the present States of Pennsylvania and Ohio. He died October 4th, 1756, at Aughquick, Pa., where he was residing with his family as wards of that Colony. [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 148.*]

²² Scrunejattha, an Indian chief who also had the title of King or Half-King.

We are now ready to fall upon them, waiting only for your succor. Have good courage, and come as soon as possible; you will find us as *ready to encounter with them as you are yourselves.*

We have sent those two young men to see if you are ready to come, and if so they are to return to us to let us know where you are, that we may come and join you. We should be glad if the troops belonging to the two Provinces could meet together at the Fort which is in the way. If you do not come to our assistance now, we are entirely undone, and imagine we shall never meet together again. I speak with a heart full of grief.

A Belt of Wampum.

The *Half-King* directed to me the following speech. "I am ready, if you think it proper, to go

to both the Governors, with these two young men, for I have now no more dependence on those who have been gone so long, without returning or sending any message."

A Belt of Wampum.

April 23rd. A COUNCIL of WAR held at *Will's Creek*²³ in order to consult upon what must be done on account of the news brought by *Mr Ward*.

The News brought by Ensign *Ward* having been examined into, as also the summons sent by Captain *Contrecoeur* Commander of the *French* troops and the speeches of the *Half-King*, and of the other chiefs of the *Six-Nations*; it appears, that Mr *Ward*, was forced to surrender the said Fort, the 17th of this instant to the *French*, who were above one thousand strong and had eighteen artillery pieces, some of which were nine pounders(*f*) and also that the detachment of the *Virginia* regiment, amounting to one hundred and fifty men commanded by Colonel *Washington* had orders to reinforce the Company of Captain *Trent*, and that the aforesaid Garrison consisted only of thirty-three effective men.²⁴

²³ Will's creek derived its name from an Indian living at the confluence of the North branch of the

(*f*) Captain *Trent* and Ensign *Ward* had greatly exaggerated the French forces. Which is natural common enough for people to do who abandon their fort at a bare summons.

Potomac and that creek, the present site of the city of Cumberland, Md. The name Will was given to the Indian by the Whites. And in time, as a matter of convenience, it came to be applied not only to this stream, but also to an adjacent mountain. The deep cut made by Will's creek through a detached range of the Alleghany, locally known as Savage Mountain, forming with the main range the divide between the head springs of the Potomac and the Youghiogeny river, a tributary of the Monongahela, made this the favorite Indian trail across the mountains; and, in a great measure, it has continued to be the route taken between the Potomac river and the head waters of the Ohio by all modern improved roads, to the present time.

²⁴ COMMISSION OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM
TRENT.

*“Rob't Dinwiddie Esq'r His Majesty's Lt Gov'r
Com'd'r in Chief and Vice Admiral of his Colony
and Dom'n of Virg'a —*

“TO WM. TRENT, ESQ'R:

“Whereas certain Persons pretending to be Subjects of his most X'n Majesty of the King of France, and that they act by his Como. have in a hostile Manner invaded the Territories of our Sovereign His M'y King George the 2d, King of Great B. &c. and have comitted divers Outrages and Violence on the Persons and Goods of His M'y's Subjects, in direct violation and infract'n of the Treaties at present subsisting between the two Crowns, and Whereas these Acts of hostility and depredations have been perpetrated in that Part of His Majesty's Dom's w'ch are under my Gov't; In order therefore to the

Preservation of the Peace and Good understanding between the two Crowns and the Preservation of our Sovereign's undoubted rights and the Protection of his Subjects as much as in me lies, I have thought fit to appoint and by Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given as Com'd'r in Chief of this Colony, I do hereby constitute and appoint You Wm. Trent Esq'r to be Com'd'r of such and so many of His M'y's Subjects not exceeding 100 Men as You can immediately raise and enlist, and with the s'd Comp'a and the Assistance of our good and faithful Friends and Allies the Ind's of the Six Nat's and such others as are in Amity with them and Us, to keep Possession of His M'y's Lands on the Ohio and the Waters thereof and to dislodge and drive away, and in-case of refusal and resistance to kill and destroy or take Prisoners all and every Person and Persons not Subjects of the King of G. B. who now are or shall hereafter come to settle and take Possess'n of any Lands on said River Ohio, or on any of the Branches or Waters thereof. And I do hereby require the s'd Men who shall so enlist themselves and every — of them to obey You as their Com'd'r and Capt'n &c. and You are to constitute such and so many Officers under You as the Service shall require, not exceeding 1 Capt. and 1 Lieut't.

“Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony at W'msburg the — Day of Jan'y in the 27 Year of His M'y's Reign, annoq Dom. 1754.” [*Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 56.*]

It was thought a thing impracticable to march towards the Fort without sufficient strength; however, being strongly invited by the *Indians*, and particularly

by the speeches of the *Half-King*, the president put the question to vote whether we should not advance, as far as *Red-Stone Creek* ²⁵ on *Monongahela*,²⁶ about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort, and there to erect a fortification, clearing a road broad enough to pass with all our artillery and our baggage, and there to wait for fresh Orders.

²⁵ Red Stone creek is a tributary of the Monongahela river. As early as 1752 the Ohio Company had erected a store-house and trading post on the right bank of the river. The improvement, known as the "Hangard," was near the mouth of this creek. The place is occasionally referred to as "Redstone Old Fort," as "Monongahela" and also as "Fort Burd" or "Byrd." The present town of Brownsville occupies the site of Burd's Fort, which is at the mouth of Nemaquin's or Dunlap's creek, a little over a mile above the mouth of Redstone creek. But the name Redstone was applied not only to the creek, but also to the region, and included the Dunlap Creek settlement. The forts, however, were distinct and over a mile apart.

²⁶ Monongahela river rises in Randolph county, West Virginia. Its head springs in the Alleghany Mountains, interlock with the sources of the Great Kanawha. This river flows in a northerly direction for nearly 200 miles, until by its union with the Alleghany at Pittsburg, it forms the Ohio river. In early times, at certain seasons of the year, it was navigable for light bateaux and Indian canoes to a distance of one hundred and fifty miles above its mouth.

The proposition aforesaid was adopted for the following reasons ;

1st. That the mouth of *Red-Stone* is the first convenient place on the River *Monongahela*.

2nd. The stores are already built at that place for the provisions of the Company,²⁷ wherein our Ammunition may be laid up, our great guns may be also sent by water whenever we shall think it convenient to attack the Fort.

²⁷“ The Ohio Company ” was chartered by the British government in 1749, with a grant of 500,000 acres of land, to be located west of the Alleghanies, on condition of settling within seven years 100 families, the purpose being to make settlements and to conduct trade with the Indians on the Ohio, and to check French domination among the Indians. This company exercised great influence in the early settlements about Will's creek and the head waters of the Ohio river, and as early as 1749 their agents explored the country and selected sites for forts and trading houses. Their agents were discreet and experienced woodsmen and hunters, acquainted with the habits and best methods of dealing with the natives. As early as 1749 the company had a store house at Will's creek, well stocked for a frontier and Indian trade; and by 1752 another such house at Red-Stone Old Fort, which Villiers, the French Commander, in his Journal of operations in that region in 1754 described as follows: “ June 30th. Came to the Hangard, which was a sort of a fort built with Logs, one upon another, well notched in, about 30 foot in length,

and 20 in breadth, and as it was late, and would not do anything without consulting the Indians, I encamped about two Musket shots from the place." The company was limited as to numbers and means, but was composed of energetic and capable business men resident in Virginia, Maryland and Great Britain. Among them were Thomas Lee, George Mason, Esq., John Mercer, Augustine and Lawrence Washington, John Hanbury, Thomas Cresap, Robert Dinwiddie and others. [*For fuller sketch of, see My Journey over the Mountains, p. 64.*]

3rd. We may easily (having all these conveniences) preserve our men from the ill consequences of inaction, and encourage the *Indians* our Allies, to remain in our interests. Whereupon I sent Mr. *Ward* to the Governor(*g*), with one of the young *Indians* and an interpreter: I thought it proper also to acquaint the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania²⁸ of the news; and I sent away the other *Indian* to the Half-King, with the speeches enclosed in the following letter.

²⁸ Robert Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia November 20th, 1751-1757.

Horatio Sharp, Governor of Maryland August 10th, 1753-1769.

James Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania 1748-1754.

(*g*) The Governor of Virginia is here understood.

To the Honorable Robert Dinwiddie Esq. Governor &c²⁹

SIR,

Mr. Ward, an Ensign of Captain *Trent's* Company is this day come from Forks of Monongahela and has brought the sorrowful news of the surrender of the Fort on the 17th of this instant; having been summoned by Captain Contrecoeur to surrender to a body of *French* troops who were a thousand strong who came from Venango with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty bateaux and three hundred canoes, they permitted all our men to retire, and take with them their working-tools out of the Fort, which was done the same day.

²⁹ This letter of Washington's to Governor Dinwiddie, or what purports to be the same, is given by Sparks with the date April 25th, 1754. Neither the original nor a transcript of it, has been found by the editor, but from the opening sentence he is led to surmise that it has been given a false date. It is of record that Ensign Ward arrived on the 22d at Will's creek and reported to Washington, who thereupon called a council of war which was held on the 23d, making it probable that the date should be 23d April, 1754. Washington's letter to Governor Sharp of Maryland, giving him practically the same information, bears date April 24th, and it is not at all likely that Washington wrote to the Governor of Maryland before he did to the Governor of Virginia. The letter, as printed by Sparks, bears evidence of

being a compound of several letters and contains matter occurring from the 22d up to the 27th of April.

Upon receiving this news, I called a council of war, in order to consult what was the best to be done in such circumstances; and have sent you a particular account of every thing agreed upon at the said council by the same express, that you may know things yet more particularly.

Mr. Ward is the bearer of the summons as also of the speech from the half-king, wherein I enclosed the wampum; he is in company with one of those *Indians* mentioned in the speech, who had been sent to see our forces, and to know what time they might expect us; the other *Indian* I have sent back with a message. I hope you will feel the absolute necessity of sending us our forces as soon as they are raised, as also a sufficient number of canoes, and other boats that can carry burden; send us also some mortar-pieces, that we may be in a condition to attack the *French* with equal forces.

And as we are informed that the *Indians* of the *Six Nations*, and the *Ottowas* are coming down *Scioto-Creek*³⁰ in order to join the *French* who are to meet at the *Ohio*; so I think it would not be amiss to invite the *Cherokces*, *Catawbas*, and the *Chickasaws* to come to our assistance; as I have received intel-

ligence, that there is no good understanding between them and the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* aforesaid, should you do so, it would be well to have them brought here in good order, that they might be persuaded to make a peace with the Six Nations; otherwise if they should meet at the *Ohio*, it might cause great disorder and turn out to our disadvantage. We find the great advantage there is in water-carriage, wherefore, I would remind you to provide a number of boats for the purpose.

This day, arrived the men belonging to Captain *Trent*, who by your Orders had been enlisted as Militia Troops; the officers having imprudently promised them *two shillings* per day, they now refuse to serve for less pay.³¹ *Ward* shall receive your Orders on that head.

³⁰ The Scioto river rises in the central or a little north of the central part of the State of Ohio and flows in nearly a southerly course to the Ohio river, at the mouth of which the Shawanese Indians had a town, now the site of the city of Portsmouth, Ohio.

³¹ It would seem that the pay promised the men enlisted by Captain Trent was higher than that provided for by Act of Assembly. His enlistments were to be made on the western side of the mountains. Most, if not all, of his men had been in the service of "the Ohio Company." They were, at best, a heterogeneous set of frontier traders, trappers and adventurers, all very impatient of restraint. The Captain,

himself, was more of a trader than a soldier accustomed to order and discipline, so that his men had learned but little of the manual of arms or how to submit to authority and be serviceable as soldiers. Those men who came with Ensign Ward to Will's creek were found by Washington to be intractable and were directed to camp at the New Store at Will's creek and there await orders from Governor Dinwiddie. But they soon after dispersed without authority. Neither the officers nor men were included with those who received land and bounty under the Governor's proclamation for enlisting in the Expedition of 1754. It is probable that Trent's company were soldiers in the service of Virginia chiefly for diplomatic reasons, but on a different basis from that of the Virginia regiment. They received some pay guaranteed by the Governor and were at the same time under pay of "the Ohio Company." The exact status and agreement between the company and the province is not clear to the writer. [*Washington's letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, May 18th, 1754.*]

*To his Excellency Horatio Sharp, Governor of Maryland.*³²

SIR,

I have arrived here with a detachment of One hundred and Fifty men. We daily expect Colonel *Fry* with the remaining part of the regiment and the artillery; however, we shall march quietly across the Mountains, clearing the roads as we go(*h*), that our

(*h*) How can the *English* say that country was their's. They had not one road leading to it from their colonies.

cannon may, with the greater ease, be sent after us; we proposed to go as far as *Red-Stone Creek*, which falls into the Monongahela, about thirty-seven miles this side of the Fort which the *French* have taken, from thence all our heavy Luggage may be carried as far as the *Ohio*. A store is built there by "the Ohio Company," wherein may be placed our ammunition and provisions.

³² Governor Horatio Sharp, of Maryland, who was appointed by the Crown to be the Executive of that State, arrived at his post August 10th, 1753, and served until 1769. He had held the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel, a local office, in the British West Indies, but had seen no active military service. He was a man of culture and integrity, but with limited capacity for the management of military and colonial affairs. His letter-book of official correspondence is preserved in the Historical Society of Maryland, and has been largely printed in the Maryland Archives. It is presumed that the letter from Washington to him of the 24th of April, 1754, may likewise be preserved in these Archives. The similarity of this letter given in the Journal to the one printed in the *Baltimore Repository* for March, 1811, and reprinted in the *American Magazine of History* February, 1881, suggests that they are practically the same.

Besides the *French* forces above mentioned we have reason to believe, according to the accounts we have heard, that another Party is coming to the

Ohio; we have also learnt that six hundred of the *Chippeways* and *Ollowais* Indians, are coming down the River *Scioto* in order to join them.

The following is my answer to the speech of the *Half-King*.

“To the Half-King, and the Chiefs and Warriors of the *Shawanese* and *Loups* our Friends and Brethren. I received your speech by brother *Bucks* who came to us with the two young men six days after their departure from you. We return you our greatest thanks and our hearts burn with love and affection towards you, in gratitude for your constant attachment to us, as also your gracious speech, and your wise counsels.

This young man will inform you, where he found a small part of our army, making towards you, clearing the roads for a great number of our warriors, who are ready to follow us, with our great guns our ammunition and provisions. I cannot delay letting you know the thoughts of our hearts, I send you back this young man, with this speech, to acquaint you therewith, and the other young man I have sent to the Governor of *Virginia*, to deliver him your speech and your wampum, and to be an eye-witness of the preparations we are making, to come in all haste to the assistance of those whose interest is as

dear to us as our lives. We know the character of the treacherous *French*, and our conduct shall plainly show you how much we have it at heart. I shall not be satisfied if I do not see you before all our forces are met together at the Fort which is in the way, wherefore, I desire with the greatest earnestness, that you, or at least one of you, Scrunevattha and send a necklace of wampum, should come as soon as possible to meet us on the road, and to assist us in council. I present you with these bunches of wampum, to assure you of the sincerity of my speech, and that you may remember how much I am your Friend and Brother

Signed

G^o WASHINGTON or

Conotocarious(*i*)

April 28th. There came to us some pieces of Cannon, which were taken up to the mouth of Patterson's River.

(From the 29th of *April* to the 11th *May* the Journal only contains marches, and things of little consequence.)³³

May 11th. Detached a party of twenty-five men commanded by Captain Stevens and Ensign *La Peronie*³⁴ with orders to go to Mr Gist's,³⁵ to enquire

(*i*) This was without doubt an *Indian* name that Major *Washington* had taken to please those Indians which he wanted to win over to his side.

where *La Force*³⁶(*k*) and his party were; and in case they were in the neighborhood, to cease pursuing and to retire to a safe place. I also ordered them to examine closely all the woods round about, and if they should find any Frenchman apart from the rest, to seize him and bring him to us, that we might learn what we could from him. We were exceedingly desirous to know, if there was any possibility of sending down any thing by water, as also to find out some convenient place about the mouth of *Red-Stone-Creek* where we could build a fort, it being my design to salute the *Half-King*, and send him back under a small guard, we were also desirous to enquire what were the views of the *French*, what they had done, and what they intended to do(*l*) and to collect every thing, which could give us the least intelligence.

³³ This hiatus in the narrative with the remark in parenthesis is in the French version of the Journal.

³⁴ Captain William Chevalier La Peyronie was a native of France, well educated and of good family. He came to America and settled in Virginia about 1750. His correct habits and dignified and gentlemanly character won him friends. Having had some training in military tactics, he sought and obtained

(*k*) Mr de la Force was one of the *Frenchmen* who accompanied Mr de Jumonville and about the beginning of *May*, was sent out with three other *Frenchmen* and some *Indians*, after deserters, and Major Washington had knowledge of this from the *Indians*.

(*l*) If the *English* were ignorant of the designs of the *French* at that time, it cannot then be said that their Hostilities had occasioned the orders which Major Washington had to attack them.

an Ensign's commission in the Virginia regiment under Washington in 1754. He made a brave and efficient officer, was desperately wounded at the battle of the Great Meadows, but finally recovered. Washington in a letter, June 12th, 1754, to Governor Dinwiddie strongly recommended him for the position of Adjutant of his regiment. He proved himself capable and trustworthy in every position; and was well acquainted with engineering and the construction of fortifications. The Governor wrote to Washington, September 11th, that he had commissioned Mr. Peyronie a Captain on his recommendation. His name appears among the officers under Colonel Washington in that engagement, receiving the thanks of the House of Burgesses for their courage and bravery. He was shortly after made a Captain, August 25th, 1754, remained in the service, went out the next year with the Virginia troops in the Braddock Expedition and was killed at the disastrous battle of the Monongahela. [*Sargent's Braddock*, p. 328.]

³⁵ Captain Christopher Gist, surveyor, explorer and agent of the Ohio Company, was a native of Maryland. In the interest of the Ohio Company he had explored the country from the head feeder of the Ohio river as far south as the falls, now Louisville, Ky., in 1750. Again the next year he traversed the valley of the Ohio on both sides of the river to the falls and kept a journal of his observations. In 1752 he selected a site for a plantation in the Monongahela Valley, where he erected a cabin and began a clearing at a point now known as Mount Braddock, and which is alluded to in the Journal as his new settlement. This is very near the geographical center of Fayette county, Pa. By the early settlers the

term Monongahela was applied to the large district of territory lying between the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela rivers. Washington, in his Journal of his journey to the French commandant on the Ohio, in returning, says: January 1st, 1754, "We left Frazier's house and arrived at Mr Gist's at Monongahela." Gist's place, Mount Braddock, is ten miles from the Monongahela river and almost as far from the Youghiogheny. In 1754 eleven other families had made improvements and built cabins in the same vicinity, encouraged thereto by Mr. Gist and the Ohio Company. These were doubtless the first, or among the first, settlers in Western Pennsylvania. As Christopher Gist was commissioned a Captain in the Virginia troops in the fall of 1755, he may have left the service of the Ohio Company. In 1756 he was sent by the Governor of Virginia to the southwest to enlist a body of Cherokee Indians into the English military service, but his mission was attended with poor success, as all such schemes of enlisting Indians proved. In 1757 he was appointed Deputy Indian Agent, for which position he was strongly recommended by Colonel Washington. Captain Gist had three sons, Nathaniel, Thomas and Richard; and two daughters, Anne and Violet.

³⁶ La Force.—French records refer to Monsieur La Force as commander of stores in the Canadian contingent. In 1754 he was with the French troops at Fort Duquesne and was an active and influential emissary of that nation among the Indians. In the skirmish between Colonel Washington and de Jumonville on the 28th of May, he was taken prisoner, sent to the Governor of Virginia, and after being detained for more than a year, was sent to England.

May 12th Marched away, and, went on rising ground where we halted to dry ourselves, for we had been obliged to ford a rapid stream, where our shortest men had water up to their arm-pits.

There came an Express to us with letters, acquainting us, that Col. *Fry*, with a detachment of one hundred men and upwards, was at *Winchester* and was to set out in a few days to join us ; as also, that Col. *Innes*³⁷ was marching with three hundred and fifty men, raised in *Carolina*, that it was expected *Maryland* would raise two hundred men, and that *Pennsylvania* had raised *ten thousand pounds* (equal to about *Fifty-two thousand five hundred livres*) to pay the soldiers raised in other Colonies, as that Province furnished no recruits, as also that Governor *Sherley*³⁸ had sent 600 men to harrass the French in Canada, (*m*) I hope that will give them some work to do, and will slacken their sending so many men to the *Ohio* as they have done.

³⁷ Colonel James Innes, a native of Scotland, was a personal friend of Governor Dinwiddie's. He was advanced in life and had resided for a few years in New Hanover county, N. C. The Colonel had seen some military service as a Captain in the unsuccessful Expedition against Carthagenia in the regiment under the command of Colonel, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor, William Gooch, the same regiment in

(*m*) The English are seen to attack every where.

which Major Lawrence Washington had served. North Carolina raised a body of troops to assist Governor Dinwiddie in his project against the French, and Colonel Innes set out with about 300 men to join the command of Colonel Fry. From delays of one kind and another and bad management, Colonel Innes arrived at Winchester with but about 150 men on the 9th of July, 1754, his troop being without arms. [*See Governor Sharp's Letter.*] On the death of Colonel Fry, Governor Dinwiddie issued, June 4th, 1754, a commission of Colonel to George Washington to command the Virginia regiment and appointed Colonel Innes, then en route from North Carolina, as Commander-in-Chief of all the forces of the Expedition to the Ohio. Events were at this time, however, rapidly maturing to a crisis with the Expedition to the Ohio, west of the Alleghany Mountains, and culminated in the battle of the Great Meadows on the 3d of July, 1754. This reverse, perhaps, had a disheartening effect upon the North Carolina troops, for in a short time after, they nearly all dispersed and returned home without orders. Later in the year Governor Sharp, of Maryland, was notified of his appointment by His Majesty as Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of Virginia and Maryland of the troops operating towards the Ohio. Governor Dinwiddie then appointed Colonel Innes Camp Master-General. [*See Governor Dinwiddie's Letter, October 24th, 1754, and in another letter June 24th, 1755, he congratulates him on being appointed Governor of Fort Cumberland.*] Although he enjoyed the confidence and friendship of the Governor, he made but an indifferent military record. He was one of the officers who acted under two commissions, an old one from the King in a former war

and a new one from Governor Dinwiddie, to each of which he appealed as occasion required. By this means he kept up a double headed command for a time at Will's creek.

Governor Dinwiddie's Commission to Colonel James Innes

“His Majesty George, the Second of G. B. F'r. and I. King, having been graciously pleas'd to Order and Com'd Me to raise Forces, build Fortresses on the river Ohio, and to protect his Lands on the s'd River; also to prevent any foreign Power whatsoever to settle on the s'd Lands, as His M'y has an undoubted right thereto, And I, repos'g especial Trust and Confidence in the known Loyalty, Courage and Conduct in You, the s'd James Innes, have, by Virtue of the Power and Authority given me by His s'd M'y, constituted and appointed, And do hereby constitute and appoint You, the s'd Jas. Innes, to be Com'd'r in Chief of all the Forces already rais'd and destin'd, or that shall hereafter be rais'd, design'd and ordered on the Service of the s'd Expedit'n. You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a Com'd'r in Chief agreeable to the Instruct's herewith given You; And I accordingly hereby Order and Com'd all the Officers and Soldiers to give due Obedience to such Orders and Direct's as from Time to Time You may think proper and necessary to direct and Com'd. And You are to follow all such further Instruct's and Orders as You may receive from me in discharge of the Duty of Y'r s'd Com'd for all w'ch this shall be Y'r Warr't and Com'o. Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony at Winchester this 4th day of June, 1754.” [*Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 194.*]

Governor Dinwiddie's Instructions to Colonel Innes.

“ All the Forces appointed and by me directed and order'd to the Gen'l Rendezvous being joined, You are on the first convenient day [to] cause a Muster roll of the whole to be taken, and all such of the Articles of War to be publicly read as may relate to Mutiny, Disertion and the keeping up a proper Discipline among the Officers and Soldiers under Y'r Com'd, whereby each Officer may know and perform their respective Duties. And that I may be acquainted with the Exact Number of the Forces, You are once in every two Months [to] cause a Gen'l Muster to be made and a List or Muster roll sent me by the first opp'ty or Courier, and the s'd Article of War, at such Musters, to be as publicly read. You are, before You enter on any Action of Attack or extraordinary Enterprize to annoy or circumvent the Enemy, [to] call a Council of War, to consist of the Field Officers and Capt's of the Independ't Compa's; in w'ch Council You are to form a Plan of Operations and issue Your Orders accordingly. The Capt's and Officers of the Independ't Compa's having their Com'ds signed by His M'y imagine they claim a distinguish'd rank, and being long trained in Arms expect suitable regards.

“ You will, therefore, consult and agree with Y'r Officers to shew them particular marks of Esteem, w'ch will avoid such Causes of Uneasiness as otherwise might obstruct His M'y's Service, wherein all are alike engag'd and must answer for any ill Consequences of an unhappy Disagreem't. You are to appoint and hold Courts-Martial as often as the same shall be thought necessary, to proceed and give Sentence according to the rules and Articles of War, of

w'ch You are to give me Advice. The French having unjustly invaded the King of G. B. Lands on the river Ohio and taken Possession of a Fort that was begun to be built by my Order for his s'd M'y and the Territory around the same. You are hereby order'd and directed, as soon as Your united Forces shall be sufficient, to repair thither, and summons the French possesing it, to surrender the Fort and evacuate the King of G. B. Lands. And in Case of refusal, You are to use Your utmost Efforts to compel and force them, and if You have the desired Success You are to take especial Care of the Prisoners by sending them down to W'mburg. Or if You sh'd think the sparing of Men to guard them thither w'd too much weaken Y'r small Army, then, You may give them some Canoes to go down the river Ohio; by no means leting them go up that river to Canada or returning. If, in Y'r Council of War, the taking the above na'd Fort sh'd be judged impracticable, You are to build another Fort on the s'd river Ohio, in some proper Place, for the better security of Your Men, Arms, Stores, Provis's, &c., And prevention of any Supplies being carried to the French Garrison, whereby, in all probability, They will be reduced to the Necessity of Capitulating and accept'g such Terms as the Situation and Circumstance of Y'r Affairs may require and You may reasonably admit of. If any of the French Army sh'd desert to You, take proper notice of them, but not to give them too much Liberty, and w'n convenient, it may be proper to send them down the Country.

“The Ohio Ind's having discover'd their Inclinations to join the English, being now convinced of their Intent's to defend and protect the Ind's ag'st the late Invasion and Encroachm'ts of the French

on the Ohio Lands, And particularly the Half King who has greatly distinguish'd Himself as our hearty Friend, and appears to me a Man of good Sense and great resolution, I therefore recomend him in the Kindest maner to Y'r F'dship and good Offices and let him and the other Ind's know that we come to aid and assist them and to protect their Lands from the ruinous Excursions of the French and their Ind's, and so order it that Y'r Soldiers behave to them with great Decency and Brotherly Affect'n. If any of Y'r officers sh'd die or unfortunately [be] slain in Battle, You are to supply their Places by the most deserving, hav'g regard to seniority in Com'o, And give me Advice thereof for my Approbat'n and Confirmation. Whilst it may be tho't unnecessary for His M'y's Service to keep his Forces on the river Ohio, a Courier will be appointed that I may be frequently advised of the Occurrences; You will therefore embrace such Opp'tys. As I have hitherto exerted my utmost Endeavours to hasten the several Corps to their appointed rendezvous, purchas'd and sent the necessary Provisions and Stores, tho' attended with extraordinary and great Delays, I am determin'd to continue my resolutions to have Your army supplied in future, trusting that His M'y and myself will have the pleasing Acc't of Y'r well doing. As many Occurrences and Accidents may happen that cannot be fore-known, You are to act in such Cases in the best manner advisable, as may conduce to His M'y's Service, for the doing of w'ch You have my full Power and Instruct'n. Wishing You and the whole Corps good Health and Success, I am Sir,
Y'r loving Friend."

Additional Instruct's.

“To preserve regularity and Order, to keep up Discipline, and enforce Obedience, I do hereby further authorize and empower You to suspend any Officer who shall misbehave himself or be refractory, as You shall see Cause, and appoint another in his room, Giving me imediate Notice thereof.

“June 25th, [1754], W'msburg. — The Independ't Compa's are also under Y'r Com'd. You are, therefore, to receive them in a particular manner, and give them Y'r Orders from Time to Time as You do the other regim'ts, they having my Orders to obey Y'r Com'ds, and to receive their Orders from You. I wish for Unanimity and good Conduct in defeating the Designs of the French. I wish You Health and Success.

I Am, S'r, Y'r H'ble Serv't.”

[*Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. 1, p. 195.]

³⁸ General William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts 1741-56, was born at Preston, Sussex, England, and died at Roxbury, Mass., March 24, 1771. He was bred to the law, came to Boston in 1734 when about 40 years of age, and practiced his profession with success and reputation. At the time of his appointment as Governor he was one of the commissioners for the settlement of the boundary between Massachusetts and Rhode Island. It was to his genius that the Expedition against Cape Breton was due and its success assured in 1745. The Governor was in England much of the time between 1746-53, and was one of the commissioners at Paris for settling the limits of Nova Scotia and other controverted rights between the French and the English

in America. He explored the Kennebec region, built several forts and made treaties with the Eastern Indians in 1754. In 1755 he was the Commander of the British forces in North America and planned the Expedition against Niagara, leading it himself as far as Oswego. In 1759 he was made Lieutenant-General. There was some disagreement between him and General Loudoun which led to a change and he was made Governor of the Bahama Islands, but returned to Massachusetts in 1770. He built himself a spacious house in Roxbury, afterward the residence of Governor Eustis [*Drake and Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 69.*]

May 16th. Met two traders, who told us they fled for fear of the French as parties of them were often seen towards Mr. Gist's. These traders are of opinion, as well as many others, that it is not possible to clear a road for loaded wagons to go from hence to *Red-Stone-Creek*.

May 17th. This evening Mr. *Ward* arrived with the young *Indian* from *Williamsburg* and delivered me a letter, wherein the Governor is so good as to approve of my proceedings, but is much displeased with Captain *Trent*, and has ordered him to be tried for leaving his men at the Ohio: The Governor also informs me that Capt. Mackay,³⁹ with an independent company of 100 men, excluding the officers, had arrived, and that we might expect them daily;

and that the men from New-York would join us within ten days.⁴⁰

This night also came two *Indians* from the *Ohio* who left the French fort five days ago; They relate that the French forces are all employed in building their Fort, that it is already breast-high, and of the thickness of twelve feet, and filled up with Earth, stone, &c. They have cut down and burnt up all the trees which were about it and sown grain instead thereof. The *Indians* believe they were only 600 in number, although they say themselves they are 800: They expect a greater number in a few days, which may amount to 1,600. Then they say they can defy the *English*.

³⁹ Captain James Mackaye, as he seems to have written his name in 1754, though others usually wrote it McKay, was a native of Scotland and was in command of an Independent Company of about one hundred soldiers in His Majesty's service. The troops came from South Carolina and were sent to aid Governor Dinwiddie in his design against the French on the Ohio. The Governor of Virginia writes on the 20th of June to Governor Sharp of Maryland setting forth his plans for settling the question of rank and asking his opinion of it. Captain Mackaye wrote to the Governor from Will's Creek on the 10th of June that he was detained there for want of flour. He joined Washington with his force on or about the 18th of June. His was an

actual instance of an officer of a lower rank, but holding his commission from the King, refusing to serve under or receive orders from an officer holding a Commission from a Governor of one of the Provinces. It is due to the memory of Captain Mackaye to say that while he was punctilious, Colonel Washington was discreet, so that no actual collision of authority was developed. The fault was not in the officer, but in the system. In the battle of the Great Meadows, Washington found no fault with him and Captain James Mackaye's name is the first signed to the Articles of Capitulation at Fort Necessity. Was this an accident or as recognition of his claim to rank. No reference is made by either to this fact. The Virginia regiment and Captain Mackaye's Independent company marched back to Will's Creek together. After resting here a few days, he accompanied Washington to Williamsburg where they made a full report of the campaign and the battle of the Great Meadows. His name is included with that of Washington and the other officers who took part in the engagement with the French. From Williamsburg he went for a brief visit to Philadelphia and then returned to Will's Creek. From Philadelphia he wrote to Washington in September: "I had several disputes about our capitulation; but I satisfied every person that mentioned the subject as to the articles in question that they were owing to a bad interpreter, and contrary to the translation made to us when we signed them." After a time Captain Mackaye retired from the service, sold out his commission and went to reside in the state of Georgia. About 1787, while en route from Rhode Island by land to Georgia, he was taken sick and died at Alexandria, Va. [*See Letter of Washington in Sparks, vol. 12, p. 303.*]

⁴⁰On the subject of the independent companies Governor Dinwiddie writes Colonel Joshua Fry, May 4th, 1754: "As the officers of the Independ't Compa's are Gent. of Experience in the Art Military, have serv'd in several Campaigns, are jealous of their own Hon'r, and are well recomended, I hope You will conduct Y'rself towards them with Prudence and receive their Advice with Candor, as the most probable means of promoting His M'y's Service and the success of the Expedit'n." [*Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 147.*] The same day the Governor writes to Colonel Washington: "The Independ't Compa from So. Car. arriv'd two days ago; is compleat; 100 Men besides Officers, and will re-embark for Alex^a next Week, thence proceed imediately to join Col^o Fry and You. The two Independ't Compa's from N. York may be Expected in ab^t ten days. The N. Car. Men, under the Com^d of Col^o Innes, are imagin'd to be on their March, and will probably be at the Rendezvous ab^t the 15th Inst." * * * "I hope Capt. McKay, who Com'ds the Independ't Compa., will soon be with You And as he appears to be an Officer of some Experience and Importance, You will with Col^o Fry and Col^o Innes, so well agree as not to let some Punctillios ab^t Com'd render the Service You are all engag'd in, perplex'd or obstructed."

The New York independent companies did not join Colonel Washington's forces until after the battle of the Great Meadows. They were therefore stopped and encamped at Will's Creek where they remained for some time and assisted during the fall and winter in building a fort, which was subsequently named Fort Cumberland, in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, Commander-in-Chief of the British army.

May 18th. The waters being yet very high, hindered me from sending forward my men and my baggage wherefore I determined to set myself in a position of defence against any immediate attack from the Enemy,⁽ⁿ⁾ and went down to observe the river.

May 19th. I despatched the young *Indian* who had returned with Mr Ward, to the *Half-King*, with the following speech.

To the Half-King, &c

My Brethren,

It gives me great pleasure, to learn that you are marching to assist me with your counsels; be of good courage, my brethren, and march vigorously towards your brethren the *English*; for fresh forces will soon join them, who will protect you against your treacherous enemy the *French*. I must send My friends to you, that they may acquaint you with an agreeable speech which the Governor of *Virginia* has sent to you: He is very sorry for the bad usage you have received. The swollen streams do not permit us to come to you quickly, for that reason I have sent this young man to invite you to come and meet us: he can tell you many things that he has seen in

⁽ⁿ⁾ It has been seen in the foregoing pieces that this pretended Enemy had no inclination to attack.

Virginia, and also how well he was received by the most prominent men; they did not treat him as the *French* do your people who go to their Fort;(o) they refuse them provisions; this man has had given him all that his heart could wish; for the confirmation of all this, I here give you a Belt of *Wampum*.

May 20th. Embarked in a canoe with Lieu^t West,⁴¹ three soldiers, and one *Indian*; and having followed the river⁴² along about half a mile, were obliged to come ashore, where I met Peter Suver, a Trader, who seemed to discourage me from seeking a passage by water; that made me change my purpose of causing canoes to be made; I ordered my men to wade, as the water was shallow enough, and continued myself going down the river. Now finding that our canoes were too small for six men, we stopped and built a Bark; with which, together with our canoe, we reached *Turkey-Foot*,⁴³ by the beginning of the night. We met with some slight and unimportant difficulties about eight or ten miles from there, we passed some places where the water (unless it became lower than it then was) would have been deep enough to allow the passage of canoes.

(o) This is the only bad usage this pretended *Half-King* could complain of: The *French* were not willing to receive in their Forts such *Indians* as were perfidious and evil minded: It may be seen in *Robert Strobo's* letter hereafter, how the *French* used the *Indians*.

⁴¹ Lieutenant John West, Jr. served in Captain Van Braam's company for a time, but may have been an officer unattached, as he was frequently off on special duty. It was his province to conduct the prisoners taken in the de Jumonville skirmish down to Winchester. I find among some old papers relating to this armed expedition a list, without date, of the men's names and with the following heading, "Captain West's New Recruits Not Incorporated," and having this indorsement in Washington's handwriting "Return of Recruits Not Incorporated." Lieutenant West's name is borne upon the rolls of the Virginia regiment for the months of June and July, 1754, and it is presumed that he was in the battle of the Great Meadows, although he may have been off on some detached duty. His name does not appear among the officers in that engagement who were thanked by the House of Burgesses for "their gallant and brave behavior." But his name does appear among the officers in the distribution of land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation to those who served in the campaign. He resigned his commission shortly after the return of the Virginia regiment to Will's Creek. (See *Washington's Letter August, 20, 1754.*) Although I have not the proof, it is rendered very probable that this is the John West Jr. who was with George Mason, Esq., member of the Virginia convention of 1776 from Fairfax County, Va. The following are the names of the recruits referred to

John Caphaw,	James McBride,
Jacob Cat,	James McLaughton,
Bryan Conner,	Gasper Morhead,
Wm. Fyan,	Richard Murry,
John Hamilton,	Jacob Perkley,
Jacob Havely,	Hugh Rotchford,

George Hoarst,
Jacob Kibler,
Henry Leonard,
John Lowe,

Thomas Sellers, Sergeant,
Benjamin Smith,
Christian Taylor,
John Thomas,

John David Wilber [supposed Woelpper], Sergeant,

⁴² Youghiogheny is a considerable stream which rises on the western side of the Alleghany Mountains, between it and a parallel ridge known as Laurel Hill, through which it passes and empties into the Monongahela river at McKeesport, about 25 miles above Pittsburg. The term "Forks of the Yough," was a common name applied by the early settlers to a large section of country lying between the forks of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers.

⁴³ "Turkey Foot," "Three Forks" and "Crow Foot" were names applied to the same locality, made notable by the junction of three streams at the one place, the Youghiogheny, Laurel Hill Creek and Castelman's River. Although known as "Turkey Foot," from the earliest recorded visits by white men and so given by geographers, the modern city builders have named it "Confluence."

May 21st Tarried there some time to examine the place, which we found very suitable for the erection of a fort, not only because it was gravelly, but also because it was at the mouth of the three branches; and in most places there was a good tough bottom on which to build it: The plan thereof, which may be seen here is as exact as could be done without mathematical instruments.

We went about two miles to observe the course of the river, which is narrow, has many currents, is full of rocks, and rapid; we waded it, though the water was pretty high, which leads me to think that it would not be difficult to cross it with canoes, which, however, could not readily be done without.

We also found other places where the water was rapid but not so deep, and the current smoother, we easily passed over them, but afterwards we found little or scarce any bottom. There are mountains on both sides of the river. We went down the river about ten miles when at last it became so rapid as to oblige us to come ashore.⁴⁴

(From the 22^d to the 24th the Journal contains only a description of the country.)⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ohio-Pile-Falls of the Youghiogheny River, in Fayette County, Pa., are both remarkable and beautiful. The stream in the course of a mile falls over 60 feet and at one bold plunge has a perpendicular fall of 46 feet. A town has grown up at the place known as Fall City, in Stewart Township, Fayette County, Pa. This place was once gravely recommended as a suitable place to locate the U. S. Armory on account of its great water power.

⁴⁵ The French version of the Journal omits records of 22^d and 23^d, with the remarks contained within the parentheses.

May 24th This morning an *Indian* arrived in company with the one whom I had sent to the *Half-King* and brought me the following letter from him.

To any of his Majesty's officers whom this May Concern.

As 'tis reported that the French army is set out to meet M. George Washington, I exhort you my brethren, to guard against them, for they intend to fall on the first *English* they meet; (*p*) They have been on their march these two days, the Half King and the other chiefs will join you within five days, to hold a council, though we know not the number we shall be. I shall say no more; but remember me to my brethren the English.

Signed The Half-King.

I examined these young Indians in the best manner I could, concerning every circumstance, but was not much enlightened by them.

They say there are parties of them often out, but they do not know of any considerable number coming this way. (*q*) The French continue erecting their fort; that part next the land is very well inclosed, but that next to the water is much neglected, at least without

(*p*) Observe the craft of this *Indian*! It has been proved that M. de Contrecoeur tarried at Fort Du Quesne; as to Mr. de Jumonville this cannot concern him, seeing he did not set out before the 23rd and his instructions have already been given.

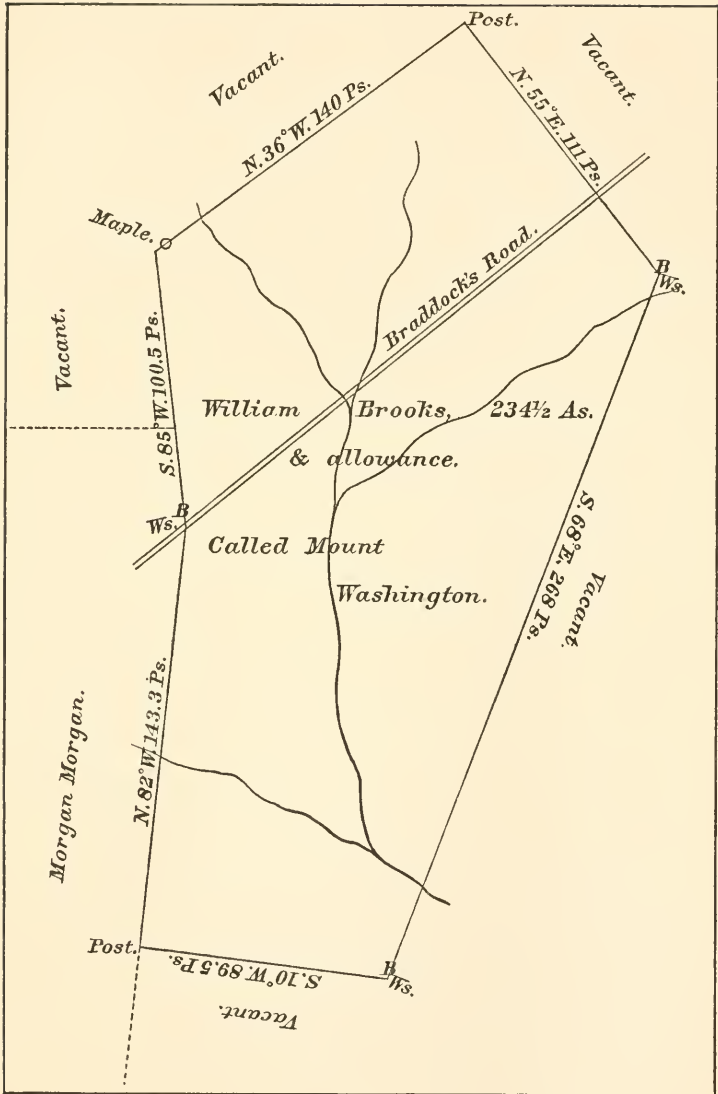
(*q*) A new proof of the falsehood of this letter.

any defence. They have only nine pieces of cannon and some of them very small, and not one mounted. There are two on the point and the others some distance from the Fort next the land.

They relate that there are many sick among them that they cannot find any *Indians* to guide their small parties towards our camp, these *Indians* having refused them.

The same day at two o'clock, we arrived at the Meadows,⁴⁶ where we saw a trader, who told us that he came this morning from Mr. Gist's, where he had seen two *Frenchmen* the night before, and that he knew there was a strong detachment on the march, which confirmed the account we had received from the *Half-King* wherefore I placed troops behind two natural intrenchments, and had our wagons put there also.

⁴⁶ The Meadows here referred to are two Great Meadows, a circumscribed, treeless valley on the Eastern slope of Laurel Hill mountain near the head of Great Meadow creek, a tributary of the Youghiogeny River, and in what is now Wharton Township, Fayette County, Pa. Camp No. 8 of Braddock's march was in this meadow. It is 18 miles from the "Great Crossing," 13 from Gist's Plantation and Fort, 4 from the foot of Laurel Hill, 51 from Cumberland, Md., and 10 from Uniontown, Pa. From the exciting occurrences which took place at and



near this locality in which Washington was a conspicuous, if not the chief actor, we may well suppose it possessed special interest for him through life. It is situated within a mile of the scene of the skirmish with de Jumonville, where Washington fired the first gun in a war which blotted New France in America from the map of the world. It is also in the immediate vicinity of Braddock's Grave, at whose interment Washington read the funeral services. And last, though not least, it is the ground on which he threw up a hasty fort, and after battling for nine hours against a vastly superior force, was obliged to capitulate and did so with honor. It must have been some lingering regard for the place that led him to buy the tract of land on which "Fort Necessity" was built, as we learn from the History of Fayette County, he did: "In 1767 General Washington acquired a claim to a tract of two hundred and thirty-four acres called 'Mount Washington,' and situated on Big Meadow Run, including Fort Necessity. It was confirmed to him by Pennsylvania, and surveyed on Warrant No. 3383 for Lawrence Harrison, in right of William Brooks, and was patented to General Washington and devised by his will to be sold by his executors. It was bought by Andrew Park of Baltimore, who sold it to Gen. Thomas Meason, whose administrators sold it to Joseph Huston in 1816;" etc. Washington in his will after devising this land, in a note refers to it as follows: "This land is valuable on account of its local situation, and other properties. It affords an exceeding good stand on Braddock's road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburg, bears a fertile soil, possesses a large quantity of natural meadow fit for the scythe. It is distinguished by the

appellation of the Great Meadows, where the first action with the French in the year 1754 was fought." [*From Washington's will.*]

May 25th Detached a scouting party at Chavert to go along the roads,⁴⁷ and sent other small parties to scour the woods. I gave the Horse-men orders to examine the country well, and endeavor to get some views of the French, of their forces, of their movements, etc.

In the evening all these parties returned, without having discovered anything, though they had been pretty far towards the place whence it was said the party was coming.

May 26th Arrived *William Jenkins*,⁴⁸ Col. Fry had sent him with a letter from Col. *Fairfax*,⁴⁹ which informed me, that the Governor himself, as also Colonels *Corbin*⁵⁰ and *Ludwell*,⁵¹ had arrived at Winchester, and were desirous of seeing the *Half-King* there, whereupon I sent him word thereof.

⁴⁷ The roads.—This, doubtless, refers to the roads opened across the Alleghany Mountains by the "Ohio Company" in 1753 and somewhat improved by Captain Trent, so that pack horses with their loads could readily pass.

⁴⁸ William Jenkins, was a messenger much employed by the Governor to ride express between the capital of Virginia and the military posts. He is probably the same person whom Washington had in his em-

ployment in the journey to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's summons to the French commandant at Fort Le Bœuf. He also received land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation for service in 1754. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Colonel Washington, May 8, 1756, says: "I p'd Jenkins till the time you were order'd a Military Chest, and you are to continue to pay him, as it's a necessary Service, and I shall support you therin." [*Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. 11, p. 407.] Jan. 16, 1762, the journal of the House of Burgesses shows that he applied for relief in the following language: "A petition of William Jenkins, setting forth that he has been employed in the service of the Public as an Express from the beginning of the war to this time, and has discharged his Duty therein with his utmost Care and fidelity; that in the Course of that time he has lost a great number of Horses of considerable value, and although he was by Agreement (when he first engaged in the service) to furnish his own Horses, yet he hopes the House will make him some allowance for his Losses, especially as he was often sent to places far remote from *Winchester*, which was to be his furthest stage out; and praying also some Provision for his future support and Maintenance, being now old and infirm, was presented to the House and read. *Ordered*, That the said Petition be referred to Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Attorney; that they examine into the Allegations thereof, and report the same, with their opinion thereon, to the House." January 18, 1762, the journal contains the following reports: "Mr. Richard Henry Lee reported that the Committee to whom the Petition of William Jenkins was referred and, according to Order, examined into the allegations thereof, and agreed on a Report and came to a Resolution

thereon, which he read in his place, and then delivered in at the table, where they were again twice read, and agreed to by the House, as follow:

“It appears to your Committee that the said William Jenkins has been engaged in the service of the Public, as an Express, from the beginning of the war to this time; and has during that time been often charged with large sums of the Public Money, which he has faithfully delivered, and in every instance discharged his Duty with care and Fidelity. It also appears to your Committee, by the oath of the said William Jenkins, that in the course of his said service he has lost 11 Horses and Mares, valued in the whole to £77-14^s.

“Resolved, that the said William Jenkins ought to be allowed some Compensation for his said Losses for his Fidelity in the Execution of his office.

“On Motion made,

“Resolved, that the sum of £100 be paid by the Public to the said William Jenkins as a Compensation for his Losses and services in the said report mentioned.

“Ordered, that the said Resolve be engrosed, and that Mr. Richard Henry Lee carry it up to the Council for their concurrence.” No further record is found in the case, but it is presumed the grant was made.

⁴⁹ Honorable William Fairfax was Lieutenant-Colonel of the County of Fairfax. He was at the same time a member of the Governor's Council. [For sketch of his life see p. 15 *Journal of My Journey Over the Mountains.*]

⁵⁰ Hon. Richard Corbin of Laneville, King and Queen County, was the receiver general for the Colony of Virginia and a member of the Governor's Council, being for a time its president. He was a firm friend

of the young soldier and future statesman, George Washington, their families, according to Sparks, being related by marriage. He was born in Virginia about 1708 and was living in 1783. It was known that Mr. Corbin warmly espoused the appointment of Washington as Lieutenant-Colonel in 1754. His wife Elizabeth was the daughter of John Tayloe of "Mt. Airy," Richmond county. [*Brock-Gilmer Papers.*]

⁵¹ Colonel Philip Ludwell, whose fine estate, "Green Spring," was in James City County, Va., was a man of high character, held many positions of trust and honor in the State, among them that of County Lieutenant of his County. His daughter, Hannah, married Thomas Lee and was the happy mother of the patriot brothers—Richard Henry, Francis Lightfoot, Thomas Ludwell, William and Arthur Lee. [*Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 190.*]

May 27th Mr. Gist arrived early in the morning, who told us that Mr. *la Force*, with fifty men whose tracks he had seen five miles from here, had been at his plantation the day before, towards noon, and would have killed a cow, and broken every thing in the house, if two *Indians*, whom he had left in charge of the house, had not prevented them from carrying out their design: I immediately detached 65 men under the command of Captain *Hog*, Lieutenant *Mercer*,⁵² Ensign *La Peronie*, three Sergeants and three corporals, with instructions. The *French* had made many inquiries at Mr. *Gist's*, as to what had

become of the Half-King? I did not fail to let several young *Indians* who were in our Camp know that the French wanted to kill the Half-King; and it had its desired effect.^(r) They immediately offered to accompany our people to go after the *French*, and if they found it true that he had been killed, or even insulted by them, one of them would presently carry the news thereof to the *Mingo* village, in order to incite their warriors to fall upon them. One of these young men was detached towards Mr. *Gist's*, and in case he should not find the *Half-King* there, he was to send a message by a *Delaware*.^(s)

⁵² Colonel George Mercer was the son of John Mercer, Esq., of "Marlborough," Stafford Co., Va., born June 23, 1733, died in England April, 1784. He was educated at "William and Mary College," Virginia, and afterward studied law. A military life had attraction for him and he served as a Lieutenant with Colonel Washington in the Expedition to the Ohio in 1754, and was with him in the battle of the "Great Meadows," as was also his brother, John Mercer, who was subsequently killed by the Indians at Fort Edwards on the Great Cacapon. Shortly after the affair at the Great Meadows, George was promoted to be Captain, and for a time served as aid to Colonel Washington. The names of both George and John Mercer are included with the officers of

^(r) Major Washington it seems did not scruple to make use of an imposture, for here he takes pride in it.

^(s) The name of an Indian tribe.

Virginia who received the vote of thanks of the House of Burgesses for their courage and brave defense in the battle of the Great Meadows. Captain George was also in the Battle of the Monongahela with General Braddock, was severely wounded and was again complimented for his bravery. In 1756 he accompanied Colonel Washington from Williamsburg to Boston on his mission to General Shirley in behalf of the rank of the Virginia military officers. He was a capable and intelligent officer and in 1758 was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the second Virginia regiment of which Colonel William Byrd, of Westover, was in command. After the French had been driven from Fort Pitt, he retired from the service and in 1761 was a member of the House of Burgesses. In a letter to a friend in England about 1760, he gave a very particular and minute pen picture of the personal appearance and prominent characteristics of Colonel George Washington as he appeared when he took his seat in the House of Burgesses in 1759. A copy of this letter was in the possession of Colonel Lewis W. Washington, of Hall Town, Jefferson Co., Va., in 1855, and a copy of the descriptive part relating to General Washington made at the time by the writer. Colonel Mercer had acquired considerable quantities of land on both sides of Blue Ridge. As he resided much abroad, he had his lands sold in 1774 and 5. George Washington became an extensive purchaser of them. Being a man of education, good address and business habits and personally familiar with what the Ohio Company had done to secure settlements at the head of the Ohio, he was selected as the company's agent and sent to England in 1763.

The following is a copy of his Commission and Instruction:

Stafford Court House [Va] July
4th 1763

Sir

From our knowledge of you, trusting in your skill, abilities and address, do, the Members of the Ohio Company, empower you to solicit for that Company, according to the following Instructions:

You are to proceed, as soon as convenient, to London and upon your arrival there, communicate your errand and instructions to Mr Dinwiddie and Messrs Hanburys, who are Members of the Ohio Company, and will assist you in every particular for the general advantage of the Company.

You are then to apply to Charlton Palmer, Esq., our present agent, with whom you are to act jointly to procure us Leave to take up our Lands according to the terms mentioned in our Petition to his Majesty, which you now have with you. If this cannot be obtained, to endeavor to have us reimbursed the Money we have spent on the Faith of the late King's former Grant to us. If any Objections should be made to either or both of those Points, you will be able fully to answer them by our stated Case, which Mr Palmer has, and the Papers you have with you.

It will be of great service to us for you to wait upon Lord Halifax, and We desire you to use all possible Means to get him to be our Patron; and it will be necessary to give him a Copy of the State of our Case, and also at the bottom of it a Memorandum of what we request now to be done.

You will write us, we hope, by every Opportunity, what you have done.

At some convenient time settle the Company's Account with Messrs Hanburys, which, when done, inform us of, for our Guidance.

It will not be amiss, in your Transactions with the great People of Business, to say a great Deal in as few Words as possible, and often to put them in Mind if they seem to forget us.

We doubt not of your Economy in the Expenses, and your Dispatch in returning to us; therefore, wishing you success we have the Pleasure to be,

Sir, your real Friends, &c.

J. Mercer

John Tayloe

Phil Lud Lee

Presley Thornton

Thos Lud Lee

Lunford Lomax

Richard Lee

To Colonel George Mercer,

[*From the American Historical Record, vol. 3, p. 557.*]

His father John Mercer had long been the secretary of the board and in 1760 wrote out a history of the enterprise and a statement of the condition of the Company, to bring the needs of the enterprise to the attention of the Crown. Col. George Mercer went to England but there were adverse interests at work though he was hopeful and possessed warm attachments for his Virginia friends, as the following letter preserved among the manuscripts of the "Force" collection in the library of Congress shows. In the end he was not successful.

MY DEAR SIR.— As it always gave me the greatest pleasure to hear of a friend from any friends, I am so vain to think it will not be disagreeable to them to hear of me; and really I have only the old plain story to tell you, that I am well. As this Island affords no

news at present, nor is there any to be expected except the most melancholy accounts we receive from the outer world, which alarms and surprises every one here much, but me more especially, who knows every scalp, I see described in the papers as lost, every House I see burnt I remember to have been in, and every farm I hear is deserted raises my compassion for the poor unhappy proprietor and his little ones, helpless and destitute of the means of a support.— Good God what has occasioned this general revolution of those faithless, inhuman, merciless wretches? When or where will it end? I know they will and indeed see by the papers they have laid waste all our frontiers.

I dare say you suspect that I am so engaged here in pleasures and so fond of this country that I am quite happy—but I tell you the truth I had rather be at Winchester six months, than in London. Really there are many things here remarkably curious and entertaining, but amidst them all, the true balm of life is wanting. Friendship can only be bought here, and you must pay high for the purchase, in short must be always laying out. I never was more tired of a place in my life nor ever liked my own Country better—you may depend I shall see you so soon as I can get my business finished.— I am in hopes to obtain the payment of the arrears due the people in our county (Frederick) and Hampshire for the Campaigns under Generals Braddock and Stanwix, I have made push, and expect success—it will save them about £6,000.

I have bought you of the *jemmyest* swords London could produce, and I shall send it you by the first safe conveyance—you should have had it now, but I did not know whether the Parson would carry it.

The bearer hereof Mr. Skyvin is a Clergyman who has been recomended to me in the strongest manner and he goes with hopes of being received into Frederick Parish. As it always will give me pleasure, and I shall think it my duty to do every thing in my power for the good of my country it will rejoice me to hear of his fixing there, as he is a man of great learning and has an exceeding good moral character; — I beg to recomend him to your notice and that you will introduce him to our friends.

I can not yet tell upon what establishment the surveyors in N^o America will be put or whether I shall be one, should I obtain my desires on this occasion, I dare say you know I shall remember you.—

My best wishes attend all our acquaintances. I hope you will tell them I say so, and that I am alive and remember them.

I am my Dear Rutherford
your obliged and sincere friend

LONDON, Oct. 28, 1763.

G^{RO} MERCER.

written on back of letter } To Captain Thomas Ru-
in different handwriting } therford.

In 1765 he returned to Virginia with a Commission as Collector for the Crown under the stamp act. The following letter and statement from him to the citizens of Williamsburg, Va., which show how he was received and the determined spirit of the people to resist the stamp tax are published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. 2, p. 209.

Account of Col. George Mercer's Arrival in Virginia, and his resignation of the office of stamp Distributor (see *Pennsylvania Journal* No. 1197.) Williamsburg (in Virginia) Oct. 31 [1765.]

This week arrived in York river, the Ship Leeds, Capt. Anderson, in 9 weeks from London, on board of which came passenger George Mercer, Esq., Chief Distributor of Stamps for this colony. Yesterday in the evening he arrived in this city, and upon his walking up street as far as the Capitol, in his way to the Governor's, was accosted by a concourse of gentlemen assembled from all parts of the colony, the General court sitting at this time. They insisted he should immediately satisfy the company (which constantly increased) whether he intended to act as a commissioner under the Stamp Act; Mr. Mercer told them that any answer to so important a question that he should make, under such circumstances, would be attributed to fear; though he believed none of his countrymen, as he had never injured them, could have any design against his person; insisted that he ought to be allowed to wait on the Governor and Council, and to receive a true information of the sentiments of the colony (whose benefit and prosperity he had as much at heart as any man in it) and that he would, for the satisfaction of the company then assembled, give them his answer on Friday at ten o'clock. This seemed to satisfy them, and they attended him up as far as the Coffee-House, where the Governor, most of the Council, and a great number of gentlemen were assembled; but soon after many more people got together, and insisted on a more speedy and satisfactory answer, declaring they would not depart without one. In some time, upon Mr. Mercer's promising them an answer by five o'clock this evening, they departed well pleased; and he met with no further molestation.

And accordingly he was met this evening at the capitol, and addressed himself to the company as follows:

I now have met you agreeable to yesterday's promise, to give my country some assurances which I would have been glad I could with any tolerable propriety have done sooner.

I flatter myself no judicious man can blame me for accepting an office under an authority that was never disputed by any from whom I could be advised of the propriety or weight of the objections. I do acknowledge that some little time before I left England I heard of, and saw, some resolves which were said to be made by the House of Burgesses of Virginia ; but as the authenticity of them was disputed, they never appearing but in private hands, and so often and differently represented and explained to me, I determined to know the real sentiments of my countrymen from themselves : And I am concerned to say that those sentiments were so suddenly and unexpectedly communicated to me, that I was altogether unprepared to give an immediate answer upon so important a point ; for in however unpopular a light I may lately have been viewed, and notwithstanding the many insults I have from this day's conversation been informed were offered me in effigy in many parts of the colony ; yet I still flatter myself that time will justify me ; and that my conduct may not be condemned after being coolly inquired into.

The commission so very disagreeable to my countrymen was solely obtained by the genteel recommendation of their representatives in General Assembly, unasked for ; and though this is contradictory to public report, which I am told charges me with assisting the passage of the Stamp Act, upon the promise of the commission in this colony, yet I hope it will meet with credit, when I assure you I was so far from assisting it, or having any previous

promise from the Ministry, that I did not know of my appointment until some time after my return from Ireland, where I was at the commencement of the session of Parliament, and for a long time after the act had passed.

Thus, gentlemen, am I circumstanced. I should be glad to act now in such a manner as would justify me to my friends and countrymen here, and the authority which appointed me; but the time you have allotted me for my answer is so very short that I have not yet been able to discover that happy medium, therefore must intreat you to be referred to my future conduct, with this assurance in the mean time that I will not, directly or indirectly, by myself or deputies, proceed in the execution of the act until I receive further orders from England, and not then without the assent of the General Assembly of this colony; and that no man can more ardently and sincerely wish the prosperity thereof, or is more desirous of securing all its just rights and privileges, than

Gentlemen, Yours &c.,

GEORGE MERCER.

Whatever his views as to the law before he arrived in Virginia may have been, the people did not permit him to remain in ignorance of their determined opposition to the law and hostility to any persons attempting to execute its mandates. He was personally popular and well known throughout Virginia and the other Provinces; but the spirit of the people was so aroused as to make it impossible for him or any other person to discharge the duties of the office. He concluded, therefore, to return to England. Before doing so, however, he executed a power of Attorney to James Mercer to care for the stamped paper and

parchment and do such other things as he could himself have done. The following is a copy of this paper taken from the American Historical Record, vol. 3, p. 557.

SIR.—As I am obliged to quit this Colony on Business of Importance and expect some consignments of Stamped Paper and Parchment will arrive in my absence, I desire you will have them immediately on their Arrival, properly secured for his Majesty's Use and Orders. And I impower and require you to do and perform every particular service as well for the security and preservation of the said Stamped Paper and Parchment which may hereafter arrive, or has been already imported for the use of this Colony, as for the Distribution of them to the Country, if they shall hereafter think them necessary and demand them agreeably to the Act of Parliament.

And I do also give you Power and Authority to appoint one or more Assistants, as you may find it necessary, and to act and do in the said office every Matter and thing whatsoever which I myself could do were I present, agreeable to the printed Instructions herewith given. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Williamsburgh, under My Hand and Seal, this 18th day of November 1765.

GEORGE MERCER. [L. s.]

To JAMES MERCER, Esq., of the Colony of Virginia.

Through the influence of Lord Hillsborough, he was in September, 1768, appointed Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina. He soon found the office uncongenial and in a short time retired from it and returned to England. Though twice married he left no children.

About eight in the evening I received an express from the *Half-King*, who informed me, that, as he was coming to join us, he had seen along the road, the tracks of two men, which he had followed, till he was brought thereby to a low obscure place; that he was of opinion the whole party of the *French* was hidden there. That very moment I sent out forty men and ordered my ammunition to be put in a place of safety, fearing it to be a stratagem of the *French* to attack our camp; I left a guard to defend it, and with the rest of my men, set out in a heavy rain, and in a night as dark as pitch, along a path scarce broad enough for one man; we were sometimes fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path before we could come to it again, and we would often strike against each other in the darkness: All night along we continued our route, and on the 28th about sun-rise we arrived at the *Indian* camp, where after having held a council with the *Half-King*, we concluded to attack them together; so we sent out two men to discover where they were, as also their posture and what sort of ground was thereabout, after which we prepared to surround them (t) marching one after the other, *Indian* fashion: We had thus advanced pretty near to them⁵³ when they discovered us; I then ordered

(t) Therefore certain it is that the English had orders to attack.

my company to fire ; my fire was supported by that of Mr. Waggoner⁵⁴ and my company and his received the whole fire of the French, during the greater part of the action, which only lasted a quarter of an hour before the enemy was routed.

⁵³ “Jumonville’s Camp and the scene of the skirmish in which he lost his life,” says Mr. Veech, “is a place well known in the mountains. It is near half a mile southward of Dunbar’s Camp and about five hundred yards eastward of Braddock’s road—the same which Washington was then making * * * There is not above ground in Fayette county a place so well calculated for concealment and for secretly watching and counting Washington’s little army, as it would pass along the road, as this same Jumonville’s Camp.” The spot is well known and frequently visited by tourists from motives of curiosity.

⁵⁴ Captain Thomas Waggoner.—A family of this name was early seated in Rappahannock Co., Va. Branches of it were among the first settlers on the South Branch and on Patterson’s creek in Western Va., where they had two forts known as Waggoner’s Fort and Waggoner’s Upper Fort [*see Letters of Washington*]. Thomas was a Lieutenant with Washington in his expedition to the Ohio in 1754, was serving as Captain when Jumonville was killed May 28th 1754 and was slightly wounded in that skirmish. His name is included with those who received the thanks of the House of Burgesses August 30, 1754, for “their gallant and brave conduct” in the campaign. Other members of this family also rendered good service to their country. Ensign Edmund Waggoner

was in the Ohio Expedition Jan. 1755 and was killed in Braddock's defeat. Andrew Waggoner was among the volunteers who received lands under Gov. Dinwiddie's proclamation for the Expedition of 1754. He served as a Major and commanded a company in the Revolution and is especially noted for his bravery at the battle of Brandywine. He was among the early settlers in the valley of Virginia, gave name to the valley of "Bunker Hill" in Bedford Co., and died there in 1812. [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers vol. 1, p. 114.*]

We killed (u) Mr. de Jumonville,⁵⁵ the Commander of that party, as also nine others; we wounded one and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were *M. la Force*, *M. Drouillon*⁵⁶ and two cadets.⁵⁷ The Indians scalped the dead and took away the greater part of their arms, after which we marched on with the prisoners under guard to the *Indian* camp, where I again held a council with the *Half-King*, and there informed him that the Governor was desirous to see him, and was expecting him at *Winchester*; he answered that he could not go just then, as his people were in too imminent danger from the *French* whom they had attacked (v); that he must send runners to all the allied nations, in order to invite them to take up the Hatchet. He sent a young *Dela-*

(u) Major Washington takes care here not to give a faithful account; but the endeavour he makes to justify himself will be seen hereafter, as will his efforts to shake off the remorse that he must have felt.

(v) The French therefore were feared only because it was known that they had been attacked, and they would certainly avenge themselves.

ware Indian to the Delaware Nation and gave him also a French scalp, to carry to them. This man desired to have a part of the presents which were allotted to them, but the remaining part, he said, might be kept for another opportunity. He said he would go to his own family, and to several others, to bring them to Mr. Gist's, whither he desired me to send men and horses to assist them in coming to our camp. After this I marched on with the prisoners. *They informed me that they had been sent with a summons to order me to retire.* A plausible pretence to discover our camp (*w*) and to obtain knowledge of our forces and our situation! It was so clear that they were come to reconnoiter what we were, that I admired their assurance, when they told me they were come as an Embassy; their instructions were to get what knowledge they could of the roads, rivers, and all the country as far as the Potomac; and instead of coming as an Ambassador, publicly and in an open manner, they came secretly, and sought the most hidden retreats (*x*) more suitable for deserters than for Ambassadors; they encamped there and remained hidden for whole days together, at a distance of not more than five

(*w*) Thus the only hostility the French can be reproached with is the endeavoring to discover an enemy who was marching with orders to attack them.

(*x*) Why this apology in a mere journal? Major Washington only mentions such reproaches, as knowing others have a right to reproach him in like manner.

miles from us; they sent spies to reconnoiter our camp; the whole body turned back 2 miles; they sent the two messengers mentioned in the instruction, to inform M. de Contrecoeur of the place where we were, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments to enforce (*v*) the summons as soon as it should be given.

⁵⁵ Ensign M. de Jumonville was a half-brother of M. Coulon de Villiers. He was in the French military service at Fort Duquesne in 1754 under Captain Commander-in-Chief of Marines, M. de Contrecoeur, of His Majesty's troops on the Ohio. Under instructions at Fort Duquesne, May 23, 1754, he was sent with a small force (according to French accounts) of one officer, three cadets, one volunteer (M. la Force), one English interpreter and twenty-eight men to scout the country along the headwaters of the Monongahela to the crest of the Alleghany Mountains, and to deliver a summons to any English he might meet to depart from French Territory. At the same time, he had instructions to observe and report everything to M. de Contrecoeur before the summons was served on the English. Washington knew nothing of the summons, but by his vigilance and enterprise with scouts had discovered de Jumonville's camp and surprised him and his forces. In the skirmish which ensued May 28, de Jumonville and ten of his men were killed and twenty-one taken prisoners, among

(*v*) A plan is here attributed to the French, which, however, shows only regular proceedings. It was proper to summon the English to withdraw from the territories they had invaded, before driving them out. An Ambassador makes this summons, and it was his duty to acquaint the person who sent him with whatever was done, so that, in case the English should refuse to comply with his demands, he might take his measures accordingly.

whom was M. la Force. The prisoners were all sent, under a guard, to the Governor of Virginia. They set up the claim to the Governor as they had done to Washington, that they were on a mission of peace, but this was not evidenced by their behavior, nor by the orders to de Jumonville accompanying the summons, both of which documents were found upon this officer's person. Parkman, in a note on France and England, vol. 1, p. 151, says: "In 1755 the widow of Jumonville received a pension of one hundred and fifty francs. In 1775 his daughter Charlotte Aimable, wishing to become a nun, was given by the King six hundred francs for her 'trousseau' on entering the convent."

⁵⁶ Monsieur Drouillon, a French officer of the rank of Major, was taken prisoner in the skirmish between de Jumonville and Colonel Washington, near the Great Meadows, May 28, 1754. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Sir Thomas Robinson of October 1, 1755, writes of him as follows: "I gave him his enlargement in Williamsburg and allowed him 10^s. per week and the cadets 7^s. 6^d. each; it was thought proper to move him and the other prisoners to Winchester, and from there to Alexandria, the privet men in confinement, and he and the cadets at present lodgings, and when winter approached, he and the other prisoners wanted clothes, I ordered them all proper clothing." They remained at Alexandria until the arrival of General Braddock's army. The privates were sent on transports, two on a vessel, to England, "as Sieur Drouillon said, he was an officer I sent him, the two cadets and a servant to Hampton to be sent passengers on board any ship bound for Britain, which was accordingly done, and I p'd 20[£] for their passage." [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 227.*]

⁵⁷ Cadets were young volunteers serving in military establishments and expeditions not only for the love of the service, but also in expectation of commissions as opportunities offered. The names of these French cadets were M. de Boucherville and M. du Sablé.

Besides, an Ambassador has princely attendants, whereas this was only a simple petty *French* officer, an Ambassador has no need of spies, his person being always sacred : and seeing their intention was so good, why did they tarry two days at five miles' distance from us (z) without acquainting me with the summons, or at least, with something that related to the Embassy? That alone would be sufficient to excite the strongest suspicions, and we must do them the justice to say, that, as they wanted to hide themselves, they could not have picked out better places than they had done. The summons was so insolent, and savored of so much Gasconade, that if it had been brought openly by two men it would have been an excessive Indulgence to have suffered them to return.(aa)⁵⁸

⁵⁸ PAPERS FOUND ON DE JUMONVILLE'S PERSON AFTER THE SKIRMISH.

Copy of the Orders given by M. de Contreccœur to M. de Jumonville May 23^a, 1754.

“ We, Captain of a Company belonging to the detachment of Marines, Commander-in-chief at the

(z) M. de Jumonville knew not that the English were five miles off.

(aa) Another kind of apology which only shows his remorse.

Ohio River, Fort Du Quesne, the Peninsula and Ox River, have given orders to M. de Jumonville, an Ensign of the Troops, to depart immediately, with one officer, three cadets, one volunteer, one English interpreter, and twenty-eight men, to go up as far as the High-Lands; he shall keep along the Monongahela river in perogues as far as the Hangard; after which he shall march along until he finds the road which leads to that which is said to have been Cleared by the English. As the Indians give out that the English are on their march to attack us (which we cannot believe, since we are at peace), but should M. de Jumonville, contrary to our expectation, hear of any attempt intended to be made by the English on the lands belonging to the King, he shall immediately go to them, and deliver them the Summons which we have given him.

“ We further charge him to dispatch a speedy messenger to us, before the summons be read, to acquaint us of all the discoveries he hath made, of the day he intends to read them the summons, and also, to bring us an answer from them, with all possible diligence, after it is read.

“ If M. de Jumonville shall hear that the English intend to go on the other side of the Great Mountain,* he shall not pass the High-Lands, for we would not disturb them in the least, being desirous to keep up the union which exists between the two Crowns.

“ We charge M. de Jumonville to stand upon his guard against any surprise either from the English or Indians. If he meets any Indians he shall tell them he is travilling about to see what is transacting

* The Appalachian Mountain.

in the King's Territories, and to take notice of the different roads and shall show them friendship.

“CONTRECEUR.

“Done at the Camp at Fort Du Quesne the 23^d of May, 1754.”

A copy of the Summons whereof M. de Jumonville was the Bearer.

“A summons which shall be read by M. de Jumonville, an officer of the troops of the most Christian King, to the Commander of the English troops, if he shall find any on the Territories of the King.

“SIR :

The Indians have already informed me that you are coming openly and armed on the territories of the King my Master, though I cannot believe it; but as it is my duty to neglect nothing in order to discover exactly the truth thereof, I have sent out M. de Jumonville to see for himself; and in case he shall see you, to summon you in the King's name, and by virtue of the orders which I have received from him through my General, to depart forthwith peaceably with your troops; should you refuse, you would oblige me, sir, to force you thereto, by using all means that I should consider most effective for the honor of the King's arms. The sale of the lands on the Ohio river by the Indians gave you so weak a title to them that I shall be obliged to repel force by force. I forewarn you, that if, after this summons, which shall be the last, there be any act of hostility, you shall answer for it, as it is our intention to keep up the union existing between two friendly Princes. Whatever your plans may be, I hope, sir, you will shew M. de Jumonville all the respect that officer de-

⁵⁹ Lieutenant James Towers — the name is occasionally written Towner. The representatives of James Towner, deceased, as the name is written, received 6,000 acres of land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation [see *Washington's Letter, November 5, 1772.*] The person meant is James Towers, as given in a letter of Governor Dinwiddie's to Colonel Adam Stephen, December 20, 1754, and also a letter of the same date to Lieutenant James Towers, accepting his resignation, but regretting his intention to retire from the service. [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, pp. 443-4.*]

After this the *French* prisoners desired to speak with me, and asked me in what manner I looked upon them, whether as the attendants of an Ambassador, or as prisoners of war. I answered them that it was in the quality of the latter, and gave them my reasons for it, as above.

May 30th Detached Lieutenant *West*, and Mr. *Spiltdorph*,⁶⁰ to take the prisoners to *Winchester* with a guard of twenty men. Began to erect a fort with small palisades, fearing that when the French should hear the news of that defeat we might be attacked by considerable forces.

⁶⁰ Carolus Gustavus de Spiltdorph and "the Swedish gentleman" are presumed to be the same, a sketch of whom is given in note 11, p. 26.

June 1st An *Indian* trader arrived here with the *Half-King*. They said that when Mr. de Jumonville

was sent here another party had been detached towards the lower part of the river (*cc*) in order to take and kill all the *English* they should meet.

We are finishing our Fort. Towards night Ensign Towers arrived with the *Half-King*, Aliquippa (*dd*)⁶¹ and about twenty-five or thirty families, making in all about eighty or one hundred persons, including women and children. The old King (*ee*) being invited to come into our tents, told me that he had sent Monakattoocho⁶² to Logs-town⁶³ with wampum, and four *French* scalps, which were to be sent to the *Six Nations*, to the *Wiandots*, etc. to inform them, that they had fallen upon the *French* and to ask their assistance to enable them to maintain the advantage gained.

⁶¹Aliquippa was a female Sachem whom the English denominated "Queen Aliquippa." She belonged to the Delawares and resided in a somewhat pretentious wigwam at the junction of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers, the present site of McKeesport. She was a woman of courage and more than usual address, with considerable knowledge of her people and much respected by them. Washington visited her on returning from his interview with the French Commander at Fort Le Bœuf in 1753, and made her a present of a Match coat. At a later period he gave to her son one of the medals furnished by the

(*cc*) An egregious falsehood by the English.

(*dd*) An Indian Squaw created a Queen by the English.

(*ee*) Another Indian chief.

Governor of Virginia for distribution to influential, friendly Indians. With this decoration Washington also gave him the name of "Fairfax." After this Aliquippa's son was admitted to the Indian councils. An early Land Patent of Pennsylvania makes reference to its adjoining Aliquippa's town.

⁶² Monacatoocha, or Monacatootha, known in 1748 as Scarroyadda and earlier as Skowoniatta, was an Oneida chief of one of the mixed bands of the Six Nations which in 1754 and for some time previous lived on the head waters of the Ohio. These people were accustomed to choose from their number a ruler or chief, whom through European influence, they termed Half-King. Tanacharison, the friendly Half-King, who died at Aughquick, Pa., in 1754, had been chosen in this way. Governor Dinwiddie wrote a friendly letter to Monacatootha in the spring of 1754, on the subject of the French encroachments and the support the Indians were expected to give the English in driving the French away from the forks of the Ohio. [*See Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 57*]. In the winter of 1754-5 this chief was sent by his people to Onondagua to learn the views of the Confederation on the expected troubles, and it was about this time he was named Half-King. He served in the Expedition of Braddock, at whose defeat his son was killed. His services to the English as Scarroyadda were acknowledged by Governor Morris, at Philadelphia, in August, 1755. [*Pa. Col. R., vol. vi, p. 524.*] [*Sargent's Braddock 173-4.*]

⁶³ Logstown was a small French and Indian village situated on the right bank of the Ohio River, about 17 miles below Pittsburg. It consisted of a cluster of log houses built by the French, for the Indians, as early as 1750, or probably before that date.

The Indian name for the town was Chinique, and here the natives held many conferences among themselves and also made treaties with the whites. By local historians there has been some contrariety of opinion as to the exact location of Logstown. Ensign Edward Ward, in a deposition relative to the operations of Captain Trent's Virginia forces at the forks in the spring of 1754 and his efforts to build a fort there, makes the following declaration: "The Shawanese inhabited Logstown on the West side of the Ohio, and tended corn on the East side of the river. [*See Calendar of Virginia State Papers.*] Mr. Craig in his history of Pittsburg concludes it was on the right bank "immediately above the run, below which, it is well known, Legionville stood; while Croghan in his journal places it on the opposite side of the Ohio River.

He also told me he had something to say at the council, but would wait till the arrival of the Shawanese, whom we expected next morning.

June 2nd Two or three families of the Shawanese and Loups arrived: we had prayers in the Fort.

June 3^d The Half-King assembled the council and informed me that he had received a speech from Grand-Chaudière (Big Kettle) in answer to the one he had sent him.

June 5th An *Indian* arrived from the *Ohio*, who had lately been at the *French Fort*. This *Indian* confirms the News of two Traders being taken by the *French*, and sent to *Canada*, he says they have

set up their palisades and enclosed their fort with exceeding large trees.

There are eight *Indian* families on this side of the river, coming to join us. He met a Frenchman who had made his escape in the time of M. de Jumonville's action; he was without either shoes or stockings, and scarce able to walk; however he let him pass, not knowing that they had been attacked.

June 6th Mr. *Gist* is returned, and acquaints me of the death of poor Colonel Fry, and of the safe arrival of the *French* prisoners at *Winchester*, which was the cause of great satisfaction to the Governor.

I am also informed that Mr. Montour (*ff*)⁶⁴ is coming with a commission to command two hundred *Indians*. Mr. *Gist* met a French deserter, who assured him that there were only five hundred men when they took Mr. Ward's Fort, that they were now less, fifteen men having been sent to *Canada* to acquaint the Governor of their success. That there were yet two hundred soldiers who were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to come and join us.

⁶⁴ Captain Andrew Montour, a Canadian Half-breed, was employed by the Virginians as an interpreter with the Indians and also with the French. He was the eldest son of Madam Montour, the daughter of a

(*ff*) This is the Canadian deserter mentioned in the Examination of the four English Traders.

Frenchman named Montour and a Huron Indian woman. Madam Montour, it is asserted, had received some education and was possessed of great strength of character. She was partial to the English and was devoted through her whole life, to the interests of the whites. Her services became so important to the English interests, that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for New York promised that thereafter [1719] she should receive "a man's pay from the proper officers of the four Independent Companies posted in the province." [*Letter Commission of Indian Affairs to President Schuyler, September 25, 1719.*] Her husband was an Indian chief of the Oneida tribe, whose Indian name was Corondawana — *alias*, Robert Hunter. They had four, possibly five, children, three sons and a daughter. Captain Andrew was a man of intelligence and some education, although a letter of his to the Governor of Pennsylvania, July 21, 1754, is signed by a mark instead of a signature. The Captain married for his first wife the granddaughter of Allumapees, chief of the Delawares. Their son, John Montour, in 1782 commanded a company of Delaware Indians on the side of the Americans in the Revolution, and acquitted himself with credit. Henry Montour, a brother of Andrew's, was also a trader and interpreter and was much employed about Pittsburg by the Governor of Pennsylvania in dealing with the Indians. He resided on and claimed all, or a part, of "Montour's Island," just below Pittsburg. The island from this fact was long known by his name, though of late, it is designated Nevill's Island. The home of Madam Montour, for at least a considerable time, was at the head of Seneca Lake and on the waters of the Susquehanna River, above Shomokin or within the Territory of the present

county of Montour, at French town now Montourville, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. The name has become permanently fixed in the geographical history of Pennsylvania, in "Montour Ridges," islands, towns, townships and a county; and deservedly so, for they were noted and worthy characters in their way and much above their associates. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Thomas Cresap, July 23, 1752, writes as follows of Captain Andrew Montour: "I shall be glad if Mr. Montour will determine to live in Virginia, that we may hereafter have an interpreter in our own province on any occasion we may have to do with the Indians; and therefore desire you will prevail with him to be at your house when the Commissioners come to go with the goods to Logstown." Captain Andrew Montour joined Washington west of the Alleghany Mountains on the 9th of June, with a Captain's commission to command some friendly Indians as scouts. [*See Governor Dinwiddie's Letter, June 18, 1754.*] His services as interpreter were especially valued by Washington, surrounded as he was by French and Indians. Captain Montour was also in the Braddock Expedition and continued with Washington in 1756-7. He took up some land in Virginia in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Colonel Innes, May 10, 1755, recognizes the justice of his claim. Andrew and Henry received large grants of "Donation Lands" from Pennsylvania on the Chillisquaque and on the Loyal Sock, branches of the Susquehanna. Zinzendorf, the Moravian, has left the following pen picture of Captain Andrew Montour, quoted by Parkman: "His face is like that of a European, but marked with a broad Indian ring of bear's grease and paint drawn completely around it. He wears a coat

of fine cloth of cinnamon color, a black neck-tie with silver spangles, a red waistcoat, trousers, over which hangs his shirt, shoes, and stockings, a hat and brass ornaments, something like the handle of a basket, suspended from his ears."

June 9th The last body of the *Virginia* regiment, arrived under the command of Colonel *Muse*,⁶⁵ and we learnt that the independent company of *Carolina* was arrived at *Will's-Creek*.

⁶⁵ Major George Muse of Caroline county, Virginia, had seen some service during the Expedition against Carthagena in the regiment raised in Virginia and commanded by Colonel Spotswood, the same in which Major Lawrence Washington served under command of Admiral Vernon. Major Muse returned to Virginia and held one of the four Adjutant-Majors' commissions into which the Militia of the Province was divided. It is said that at one time he was an instructor in military tactics to George Washington. Governor Dinwiddie appointed him Major of the Virginia regiment in the spring of 1754 and expected valuable services from him. On the death of Colonel Joshua Fry, which brought promotion to Colonel Washington, Major Muse was made June 4th Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment. He joined Washington on the 9th, but soon fell into discredit from some want of promptness or courage, so that his name was omitted from the list of officers complimented by the House of Burgesses "for their gallant and brave behaviour" in the battle of the Great Meadows. His claim to land under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie was, however,

recognized, and he received 3,500 acres. Dissatisfied with the share assigned him, he wrote somewhat rudely to Washington on the subject. His letter has not been preserved, but Washington's spirited reply has been, and will appear in its chronological place. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Colonel Innes, July 20, 1754, says: "Colonel Muse desires leave to resign his com'd, as he is not very agreeable to the other officers, I am well pleas'd at his resignat'n, and have now sent you ten blank Com's to be filled up properly; take the advice of Colo. W., in this affair, as they must be filled up from their own corps."

June 10th. I received the regiment, and in the evening had notice, that some *French* were advancing towards us; whereupon I sent a party of Indians upon the scout towards Gist's, in order to discover them, and to know their number: just before night we had an alarm, but it proved false.

June 12th. Two of the men whom we had sent out yesterday upon the scout, returned; they had discovered a small party of *French*; the others went on as far as *Stuart's*.⁶⁶ Upon this advice, I thought it necessary to march with the major part of the regiment, to find out those ninety men, of whom we had intelligence. Accordingly I gave orders to Colonel Muse, to put away all our baggage and ammunition, and to place them in the Fort, and set a good guard there till my return; after which I marched at the

head of one hundred and thirty men and about thirty *Indians*, but at the distance of half a mile I met the other *Indians*, who told me, there were only nine deserters; whereupon I sent Mr. Montour, with some few *Indians*, in order to bring them in, in safety. I caused them to be clothed, and they confirmed us in our opinion of the intention of M. de Jumonville's party; that more than one hundred soldiers were only waiting for a favorable opportunity to come and join us; that M. de Contrecoeur expected a reinforcement of four hundred men; and that these four hundred men must have arrived before the attack made on la Force; that the fort was completed; that its front and gates were protected against an attack by artillery; that there was a double palisade next to the water; that they have only eight small pieces of cannon, and know what number of men we are.

⁶⁶ Stewart's Crossing of the Youghiogheny river was about one mile below the present town of Connellsville, in Fayette county, Pa. A ford at low water and a ferry at high water, it was on the line of the early Indian trail or path, and bore the name of Stewart's Crossing as early as, or before, 1753. It was at this ford, that Braddock's army crossed in 1755.

They also informed us that the *Delawares* and *Shawanese* had (*gg*) taken up the hatchet against

(*gg*) This was the effect of the indignation the murder of M. de Jumonville had caused.

us; whereupon we resolved to invite those two Nations to come to a council at Mr. *Gist's*. Sent for the purpose messengers and Wampum.

June 13th. Induced the deserters to write the following letter, to those of their companions who had an inclination to desert (*hh*) :

[The letter is not given in the Journal as printed by the French.]

June 15th. Set about clearing the roads.

June 16th. Set out for *Red Stone Creek*, and were extremely perplexed, our wagons breaking very often.

June 17th. Dispatched an express to the *Half King* in order to persuade him to send a message to the *Loups*, which he did, as I expected that he would.

June 18th. Eight *Mingoes* arrived from Logstown, who on their arrival told me, without delay, of a commission they had and that a council must be held. When we had assembled, they told us briefly that they had often desired to see their brethren in the field with forces, and begged us not to take it amiss, since they were amongst the French, that they complied with some of their customs, notwithstanding which they were naturally inclined to attack them, and other words to that purport. After which they said they had brought a speech with them, which

(*hh*) How can such proceedings be justified?

they must deliver with speed. These, together with some other things, made us suspect that their intentions towards us were evil; wherefore I delayed giving them audience until the arrival of the *Half-King*, and desired also the *Delawares* to have patience till then, as I was only awaiting their arrival, which I expected would be the same day, to hold a council. After the eight Mingoës had conferred a while together, they sent me some strings of wampum, desiring me to excuse their insisting on the delivery of their speech so speedily, that they now perceived that it was proper to await the arrival of the *Half-King*.

When the *Half-King* arrived I consented to give them audience.

A council was held in the camp for that purpose, at which the *Half-King* and several of the *Six Nations*, *Loups* and *Shawanese* to the number of forty were present.

The spokesman of the Six Nations addressed the following speech to the Governor of Virginia :

BRETHREN :

We your brethren of the Six Nations are now come to acquaint you, that we have been informed that you threaten to destroy entirely all your brethren, the *Indians*, who will not join you on the road ; wherefore we who keep in

our own towns, expect every day to be cut to pieces by you. We should be glad to know from your own mouth whether there be any truth in that information, and hope that you will not think it improper that we are come to inquire into it, since you well know that bad news commonly makes a much deeper impression upon us than good. That we may be fully satisfied by your answers of the truth thereof, we give you this belt of wampum.

We know the French will ask us on our return, of what number our brethren are whom we went to see? Therefore we desire you, by this belt, to let us know it, as also the number of those whom you expect, and at what time you expect them, and when you intend to attack the French, that we may give notice thereof to our town, and know also, what we are to tell the French.

ANSWER.

BRETHREN :

We are very glad to see you, and sorry that such reports disquiet you. The *English* do not intend to hurt you, or any of your allies: this news, we know, must have been forged by the *French*, who are constantly treacherous, asserting the greatest falsehoods (*iz*) whenever they think they will turn out to

(*iz*) It may be judged by what has been before mentioned, who most deserve that reproach, the French or the English. The imposture which Major Washington confesseth he had recourse to, in order to irritate the Indians, can give a clear idea of the means which the English made use of.

their advantage; they speak well, promise fine things, but all from the lips only; whilst their heart is corrupt and full of the poison of the serpent. You have been their children, and they would have done every thing for you, but they no sooner thought themselves strong enough, than they returned to their natural pride and drove you off from your lands, declaring you had no right on the *Ohio*. (*kk*) The English, your real friends, are too generous to think of using the Six Nations, their faithful allies, in such manner; after you had gone to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania they (at your repeated request) sent an army to maintain your rights (*li*) to put you again in possession of your lands, and to take care of your wives and children, to dispossess the *French*, to support your prerogatives and to secure that whole country to you, for these very ends are the English arms now employed; it is for the safety of your wives and your children that we are fighting; and as this is the only motive of our conduct (*mm*) we cannot reasonably doubt of being joined by the rest of your forces to oppose the common enemy.

(*kk*) It is true, the Indians of the Six Nations have never inhabited the banks of the Ohio; neither do they claim any rights to them; but the English, who in America treat them as friends and allies, would fain persuade them that the banks of the Ohio belong to the Six Cantons, under a pretense of some ancient wars that these had with the Indians on the Ohio. And in Europe they insist that country belongs to England, and claim that the Iroquois are her subjects.

(*li*) Here the English confess, that country is none of theirs; of what hostility can they then reproach the French? It would more become the Indians of the Six Nations to complain; yet they do not.

(*mm*) So! This is the reason of the war against the French? Protection due to the Iroquois, who never complained.

Those that will not join us shall be answerable for whatever may be the consequence, we only desire your brethren to choose the side which shall seem most agreeable to them.

The Indians of the Six Nations are those who have the most interest in this war, for them it is that we are fighting, and it would greatly trouble me to do them the least hurt; we have engaged in this war, in order to protect and assist you, our armies are open to receive you, and our hands ready to feed your families during the course of this war. The Governor of *Virginia* has often desired that they might be sent to him so that he might see them in person, feed and clothe them according to their own desire; but as you could not decide to send them to him, we are ready to share our provisions with you, in a friendly manner, and shall take such measures, and give such orders, that enough shall be brought to maintain your wives and children. Such conduct will evidently prove how much more the *English* love and esteem their faithful allies, the Six Nations (*nn*) than the French do; as we have drawn the sword in your cause and in your defence, delay not one moment, be no more in suspense, but put all your

(*nn*) The grand argument of the English in Europe in support of their claim to the country which lies on the other side of the Appalachian Mountain is that the Six Nations are their subjects. How can we reconcile that with the reasons they allege in America in speaking to the Iroquois?

wives and children under our protection, and they shall find plenty of provisions; in the meanwhile set your young men and your warriors to sharpening their hatchets, in order to join and unite with us vigorously in our battles.

¶ The present, my brethren which I offer you is not so considerable as I could wish, but, I expect in a short time, a quantity of goods, which are to be at my disposal, in order to reward those who shall have shown themselves brave and active on this occasion ; I shall, moreover recompense them most generously.

Be of good courage, my brethren, deliver your country and secure it to your children ; let me know the thoughts of your hearts at this juncture, that I may give an account of your sentiments, to your great friend^s and brother, the Governor of Virginia. In order to assure you of my sincerity and esteem I present you with this belt of wampum.

June 20th The council is still continued. When the Delawares learned that they were suspected of being in the French interest, they asked the reason why they had been sent for, and what they should tell the French on their return.

I answered them, it was to let them know, that we were come at their reiterated requests to assist them,

with sword in hand ; (oo) that we intended to put them in possession of these lands which the French had taken from them.

And as they had often asked our assistance as being our ancient and faithful allies, I invited them to come and place themselves under our protection together with their women and children.

Whereupon the spokesman stretched out his blanket on the floor, and laid several belts and strings of wampum thereon, in the same order in which he had received them from the French. Here are repeated the words of M. de Contrecoeur (*pp*) after which the Delaware orator addressed the following speech to me.

BRETHREN,

The Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania; we your brethren the Delawares remember perfectly well the treaty made at Logstown where you and your uncles, the Six-Nations, considering the bad situation we were in for want of a man to be our leader, then gave us a King, and told us, he should transact all public business between you and us; (*qq*) you charged us not to listen to every vain

(oo) The Delawares at that time were in the French interests, and were not duped by the tone of assurance with which it was sought to persuade them, that the English were come at their request only.

(pp) Major Washington does not relate in his journal what those words of the French were. He had, no doubt, good reasons to conceal them.

(qq) Could it be from this pretended King that the *English* had made such purchases?

report, that might be spread, but to consult well among ourselves, and to do what should seem to us to be right : We assure you, that we have given no credit to any of those reports, nor ever shall; but will be guided by you, our brethren, and by our uncles the Six-Nations : and will do on all occasions, what is just and right, taking advice from you alone. To assure you of the desire we have to fulfil our engagement with you, we present you with this belt of wampum.

After which they made the following speech to the Six-Nations.

UNCLES,

Thirteen days are now past since we received this belt from the Onondaga council, I do not doubt that you have heard of it. They exhorted us to remember the old times, when they clothed us with a robe reaching down to our heels; they afterwards told us, to raise it up to our knees, and there to make it very fast, and come to them at the headwaters of the Susquehanna, where they had provided a place for us to live ; that they had also sent a speech to those of our Nation who live near the Minesinks, inviting them to go to the place by them appointed that they might live with us : They also sent us a speech to give us notice that the English

and French were upon the point of coming to an engagement on the Ohio river, and exhorted us to do nothing in that matter, but what was reasonable, and what they would tell us themselves. Lastly, they urged us to keep fast hold of the chain of friendship, which has so long subsisted between us and them, and our brethren the English.

A belt of Wampum. Then the Delawares spoke to the Shawanese as follows :

“ GRANDSONS,

By this belt, we take you in our arms, and fetch you away from the Ohio, where you now are, to carry you amongst us, that you may live where we live, and there live in peace and quiet.”

The Council then adjourned until the next morning.

June 21st Met very early, and I spoke first to the Delawares, in the following manner.

BRETHREN :

By your open and generous conduct on this occasion, you have made yourselves dearer to us than ever ; we return you our thanks, that you did not go to Venango, when the *French* first invited you there ; their treating you in such a childish manner, as we perceive they do, raises in us a just and strong resentment. They call you their children, and speak to

you, as if you were children in reality and had no more understanding than children have.

Consider well my brethren, and compare all their speeches, and you will find that all it tends to, is to tell you, I am going to open your eyes, to unstop your ears, and such like words to no purpose, only proper to amuse children. You also observe brethren that if they deliver a speech, or make a promise, and confirm it by a belt, they imagine it binds them no longer than they think it consistent with their interest to stand by it. They have given one example of it; and I will point it out to you in the leap which they say they have made over the barrier which you had set them; which ought to stir you up my brethren, to just anger, and cause you to embrace the favorable opportunity that we offer you, as we are come, at your request, to assist you, and by means of which, you may make them leap back again with more speed than they advanced.

A string of Wampum. The French are continually telling you, not to give heed to the ill reports that are told you concerning them, who are your fathers. If they did not know in their hearts, how richly they deserve it on account of their injustice to you, why should they suspect that they are accused? Why should they take so much care to forewarn you, in

order to hinder you from believing what is told you concerning them? With regard to what they tell you of us, our conduct alone will answer in our behalf. Examine the truth yourselves; you know the roads leading to our habitations, you have lived amongst us, you can speak our language; but in order to refute whatever may be said against us and to assure you of our brotherly love, we once more invite your old men, your wives and your children, to take refuge under our protection, and in our arms, in order to be plentifully fed, whilst your warriors and young men join with ours and espouse the common cause.

A string of Wampum. Brethren, we thank you with all our hearts, for having declared unto us your resolution of accomplishing the engagements which you entered into at the Treaty of Logstown (rr)⁶⁷ and we can do no otherwise than praise your generous conduct with regard to your grandsons the Shawanese; it gives us infinite pleasure.

We are greatly obliged for the advice given you by *Onondaga*, charging you to hold fast the chain of friendship by which we are bound; I dare say, that had he known, how nearly you were interested in this war, or that it is for the love of you,

(rr) What this Treaty of Logstown can be, no one knows; this Journal makes it appear, that it was convened by a man whom the English had given them for a King, and of whom they consequently felt very sure.

and at your request (*ss*) that we have taken up arms, he would have ordered you to declare and to act immediately against the common enemy of the Six Nations. In order to assure you of our affection, and to confirm the truth of what I have said, I present you with this belt. Two long strings of wampum.

⁶⁷The Treaty of Logstown here so superciliously referred to, is probably confounded with the one held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in July, 1744, by which the Six Nations assumed to cede to the English the land from the Alleghany Mountains to the Ohio river for the consideration of £400. [*See Penn. Colo. Records.*] Nothing was done by Pennsylvania to profit by this nominal grant, the other Indians asserting that the Six Nations never had any lands on the Ohio. The treaty held at Logstown in 1752 with the resident tribes was at the instance of Governor Dinwiddie, prompted by the parties interested in the Ohio Company which saw that it was to their interest to be at amity with the Shawnee, Mingo and Delaware tribes inhabiting that region. The Indians evinced but little interest in the matter, but dimly seeing through the selfishness of the project, hesitated and declined to act and it became doubtful whether any thing could be accomplished; at length, however, in an omnibus set of resolutions passed June 13, 1752, the Indians in council consented to confirm the Lancaster Deed in as "full and ample a manner as if the same were here recited." They bound themselves not to molest settlements on the south-west side of the Ohio and to be firm Allies of the English. In 1751 Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania had sent Colonel Croghan

(*ss*) Why so often repeated; Major Washington was certainly in doubt as to the Delawares giving any credit to it.

with presents to the Miamies to "renew the chain of friendship;" when, however, his embassy returned and a favorable report of its conference was made to the Assembly, it was rejected "for bringing expenses on the Government." The Governor sent Colonel Croghan again the next year with presents to the Mingoes and Delawares whom the agent persuaded, that it would be to their interest if the English should build a fortified Trading house at the Forks of the Ohio. The Indians thereupon, at his suggestion, made a formal request of the Governor to erect such a Fort. This report and petition were laid before the Assembly of Pennsylvania and were again rejected by them. [*See Croghan's Treaties with the Indians, N. Y. Colo. Doc. vii, p. 267.*]

The following letter from Governor Dinwiddie to Thomas Cresap shows with tolerable clearness the views held by him in January, 1752 as to the obligations of the Colony of Virginia to respect the rights of the French in the region about the head of the Ohio river.

"W^MSB'G, Jan'y 23^d, 1752.

"SIR: You herewith will receive the Opinion of the Council in Answer to Your Letters. As to making Reprisals for the Robberies done by the French on the Ohio, it is inconsistent with the Laws of Nations, while We are in Peace with France and your Letter is too general: if you give a particular Account of the different Robberies, we must apply to the Governor of Canada for Redress: Upon his Refusal we may proceed in an other manner.

I shall be glad [if] Mr. Montour will determine to live in Virginia that we may hereafter have an Interpreter in our own Province on any Occasion we may have to do with the Indians; and therefore I desire

you will prevail with him to be at your House when the Commissioners come to go with the Goods to Loggs Town.

I have the Success and Prosperity of the Ohio Company much at Hart tho' I have not a Line from any concern'd since my arival, but this from you. There is a Cargo of the concern'd come in the ship with me, it now lies at Colo. Hunter's, the severity of the Weather prevented his sending the Goods, to Colo. Mason. I am surpris'd at what you write, that Patton or any other Person should obstruct that Company's making a settlement on the Ohio, but shall take Care that it shall be strongly urged to the Indians and doubt not of Success. I shall be glad if you could furnish me with an Account of the several Nations of Indians, their names and numbers of each separate, viz.: the fighting Men, Women, and Children, and your Advice how to engage them to the British Interest. The Assembly sits down the 27th of next Month, the General Court imediately after, which makes it impossible for me to come at this time to a treaty with the Indians, at the same time, I am confessing Ignorance in these Affairs; but if hereafter, I shall find it for his Majesty's service, I shall not think much of the Trouble to give them a Meeting, if not at too great a Distance, but am in Hopes the Meeting now proposed will end with the desired success. And as you are a Member of the Ohio Company, I think your good offices will be very necessary, and will be acknowledged by the Company. I shall be very glad to hear frequently from you; and am

Sir your humble servant

ROBERT DINWIDDIE

To Colo. THOMAS CRESAP

[*From Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 17.*]

After the Council broke up, and those treacherous devils who had been sent by the *French* to act as spies, returned, though not without some stories prepared to amuse the *French*, which may be of service to make our designs succeed.

As they have told me there were sixteen hundred *French* and seven hundred *Indians* on the march, to reinforce those at the Garrison, I persuaded the Half-King to send three of his men to inquire into the truth of it; though I imagined this news to be only soldiers' talk, these *Indians* were sent secretly before the council broke up, and had orders to go to the Fort, and get what information they could from all the *Indians* they should meet, and if there were any news worth while, one (*tt*) of them was to return, and the other two to continue their journey as far as Venango, and around the Lake, in order to obtain a perfect knowledge of every thing.

⁶⁸ Shingise, King or Chief of the Delawares, and brother of King Beaver, was one of the great Indian warriors of his day, and a terror to the western frontier of Pennsylvania. His home was about the head of the Ohio, mainly at the Forks, Shanopin's Town, and his hunting grounds between the waters of the Monongahela and the Alleghany Rivers to the summit of the Alleghany Mountains. He was the first

(*tt*) It was by the means of those *Indians* that the English had communication with Stobo the spy, whose letter will be seen hereafter.

Indian Chief visited by Washington *en route* to deliver Gov. Dinwiddie's letter to the French commandant at Fort Le Bœuf, in the winter of 1753. He was inferior in rank to Tanacharison, who was a sachem of the Six Nations.

I also persuaded King *Shingas* to send out rangers towards the river, to bring us news, in case any *French* should come ; I gave him also a letter, which he was to send me back again by his runners to prevent my being imposed upon by a false alarm.

Though King *Shingas*, and others of the Delawares could not be persuaded to retire to our camp with their families, owing to their fear of Onondaga's Council, they nevertheless gave us strong assurance of their assistance and directed us in what manner to act in order to obtain our desire : the method was this ; we were to prepare a great war-belt to invite all the warriors who would receive it, to act independently of their King and council; and King *Shingas* promised to take privately the most subtle measures to make the affair succeed though he did not dare to do it openly. The day that the council broke up I persuaded Kaquehuston, a trusty Delaware, to carry that letter to the Fort which the French deserters had written to their comrades and gave him instructions how he should behave in his observations upon several articles of which I spoke to him, for I feel convinced

that the Fort may be surprised, as the French are encamped outside, and cannot keep a strict guard by reason of the works on which they are engaged.

I also persuaded, George, another trusty Delaware, to go and visit the Fort, a little while after Kaquehuston, and gave him the proper instructions, recommending him particularly to return with speed, that we might have fresh news.

Immediately after the council was over, notwithstanding all that Mr. Montour could do to dissuade them, the Delawares, as also the Half-King, and all the other Indians, returned to the Great Meadows; but though we had lost them, I still had spies of our own people, to prevent any surprise.

As it had been told me, that if I sent a belt of Wampum and a speech, *that* might bring us back both the Half-King and his young men, I sent the following speech by Mr. *Croghan*.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Colonel George Croghan, an Indian agent, interpreter and trader of Pennsylvania, was born in Ireland and died at Passayunk, Pa., about 1782. His will is on record in Albany, N. Y. He was educated at Dublin, Ireland, and coming to America, settled on the Juniata river above Harrisburg, Pa., and carried on the business of an Indian trader as early as 1746. Acquiring the Indian language and being a man of character, he in time became an agent for the Colony of Pennsylvania. His plantation was at Augquick,

Huntington county, Pennsylvania. He was engaged by Governor Dinwiddie in 1754 as an interpreter and sent with a letter to Col. Washington. [*See the Gov.'s Letter, June 1, 1754, in Dinwiddie Papers.*] Col. Croghan's service did not give entire satisfaction to the Governor as is inferred from the language he uses in a letter to Col. Innes of January 15, 1755, in which he says: "As for Croghan I have no opinion of him his whole views are self Int't." [*Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 461.*] In 1755 Genl. Braddock commissioned him a captain for the campaign to marshal the Indians.

FORT LOUTHER [PA.] June 6, 1755.

SIR.—Captain Jack has promised his aid in the contemplated attack on Fort Du Quesne. He will march with his *Hunters* by a circuitous route and join Braddock. He and his men are dressed in hunting shirts, mocasins, etc., are well armed and equally regardless of heat and cold. They require no shelter for the night. They ask no pay. If the whole army was composed of such men, there would be no cause for apprehension. I shall be with them in turn for duty.

Yours, etc.,

GEORGE CROGHAN.

To the GOVERNOR of Pennsylvania.

[*From the Pennsylvania Records, vol. iv, p. 416.*]

He was frequently employed by the Provinces in negotiations with the Indians of the western frontier. In November, 1756, he was regularly commissioned Indian Agent for Pennsylvania and Ohio Indians by Sir Wm. Johnson, who in 1763 sent him to England to confer with the Ministry about the Indian boundary lines. In 1766 he made a settlement four miles

above Fort Pitt and continued up to 1776 to render valuable services in conciliating the Indians. He was somewhat distrusted as to his loyalty in the early part of the Revolution, but as he resided quietly on his farm, he was undisturbed and, possibly, was unjustly suspected. [*Doc. Hist. N. Y., and also Drake.*]

'Tis but a short time since we were assembled together; we were sent here by your brother the Governor of Virginia at your own repeated request, in order to succor you and fight for your cause; wherefore my brethren, I must require that you and your young men come to join and encamp with us, that we may be ready to receive our brother Monacotoocha, whom I daily expect. That this request may have its desired effect, and make a suitable impression upon your minds, I present you with this string of Wampum.

As those Indians, who were spies sent by the *French*, were very inquisitive, and asked us many questions in order to learn by what way we proposed to go to the Fort, and at what time we expected to arrive there, I left off working any further on our road, and told them we intended to continue it through the woods as far as the Fort, felling the trees, etc. That we were waiting here for reinforcements which were coming to us, our artillery, and our wagons to accompany us there, but as soon as

they were gone I set about marking out and clearing a road towards Red-Stone.

June 25th. Towards night three men came from the Great Meadows, among whom was the son of Queen Aliquippa.

He brought me a letter from Mr. *Croghan* informing me what difficulty he had in finding any Indians willing to come to us; that the Half-King was inclined, and was preparing to join us, but that a blow which he had received prevented him. I thought proper to send Captain Montour to Fort-Necessity⁷⁰ in order to try if he could, possibly, induce the Indians to come to us.

⁷⁰ Fort Necessity, the scene of Washington's first battle, was situated near the head springs of Great or Big Meadow run, a tributary of the Youghioghny River, on the eastern slope of the Laurel Hill Mountain, at a place named by the early explorers "the Great Meadows," because it was a flat, open field without trees, but with an abundance of nutritious grass. Pasture was a matter of great moment to the explorer and trader having horses or cattle to feed. Hence both the Little and Great Meadows on this route across the Alleghany Mountains early became places of especial note on this account. It would seem from the Journal that Colonel Washington, as a precautionary measure, had made some defensive work here as he marched out to the west, and gave to it the name "Fort Necessity." From stress of circumstances, a week or so later, while retreating with his

small army, he was compelled to make a stand at the Great Meadows, when he enlarged the defensive works as best he could, considering his want of time and resources. Here before his works were completed, he was attacked by the French and Indians under the command of M. de Villiers; the attacking party greatly outnumbering his own forces. His small garrison withstood the attack and defended themselves with spirit and ability for nine hours, but were then obliged to capitulate, which they did on the night of July 3, 1754. If this version of the Journal can be relied upon, the name "Fort Necessity" was given to the fort by Washington as early as the 25th of June.

June 26th. An *Indian* arrived bringing news that Monacatoocha had burned his village, Logstown, and was gone by water with his people to *Red-Stone*, and might be expected there in two days. This Indian passed close by the Fort, and assures us that the *French* have received no reinforcements, except a small number of *Indians* who had killed, as he said, two or three Delawares. I did not fail to relate that piece of news to the Indians in its proper colors, and particularly to two Delawares who are here.

June 27th. Detached Captain Lewis,⁷¹ Lieutenant Waggoner and Ensign Mercer,⁷² two Sergeants, two Corporals, one drummer and sixty men, in order to endeavor to clear a road to the mouth of Red-Stone Creek, on Monongahela.⁷³

⁷¹ Major Andrew Lewis, of Virginia, was the third son of John and Margaret (Lynn) Lewis, pioneer settlers in Augusta county, Virginia. He was born in Ulster county, Ireland, in 1720; he was commissioned captain in the Virginia regiment March 18, 1754, and was part of the time in the expedition to the Ohio under Colonel Washington, serving as major, and was with him in the battle of the Great Meadows. The following year he served in the company of his brother Samuel in the Braddock Expedition. In the fall of this year, after Washington had been named to command the sixteen companies ordered by the House of Burgesses to be raised for the protection of the frontier, he was appointed major. [*See Washington's Letter to Major Lewis September 6, 1755.*] In 1756 he commanded the Stony Creek Expedition, and on the 15th of April was complimented by a vote of approbation of the House of Burgesses for the manner in which he had discharged his duties. The same year he was sent on a special mission to construct a fort in the Cherokee country, and executed his trust to the satisfaction of all concerned. He continued in military service until the fall of Fort Du Quesne, in 1758. He was in the ill-advised attack on the Fort by General Grant, and was taken prisoner and sent to Montreal. He was soon after exchanged and returning home, was appointed by Virginia a Commissioner to treat with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix. In 1774 he was in command of the Virginia provincial troops at the hardest fought battle against the most formidable Indian forces, that ever took place in the State. He was a member of the House of Burgesses for a number of years from Botetourt county and a member of the conventions of Virginia of March and

June, 1775. He was commissioned colonel in the army March 1, 1776, and made brigadier-general at Washington's request, April 15, 1777, but declined. He drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynn's Island in Virginia. His duties kept him much in the lower part of the State, where he contracted a fever, of which he died, September 25, 1781, at the house of Captain Talbott, in Bedford county. His remains were interred by the side of his youngest son, Charles, in the burial ground on his home farm on Roanoke river. His military abilities were of a high order and much esteemed by Washington. His statue appropriately occupies one of the pedestals which surround her Washington statue in Richmond. Four of his brothers were also distinguished in the military annals of Virginia, namely, Samuel, Charles, Thomas and William.

⁷² Captain John Fontain Mercer was an Ensign in the Virginia forces, with Washington, in the armed Expedition of 1754 to the Ohio. He was the son of John Mercer, an eminent lawyer, who resided on a fine estate known as Marlboro in Stafford county, Virginia. Captain John was born August 31, 1738; he was the brother of Captain George Mercer, who was also in the military service of 1754, under Washington. The names of both are included in the vote of thanks by the House of Burgesses to the officers for "their gallant and brave behaviour in defense of the country." Captain John Fontain Mercer was promoted to a Lieutenantcy July 21, 1754. He continued in the service and was in the Braddock campaign, acquitting himself with credit. He again accepted service as a Captain, with a force of 100 men, and was under Washington on the Virginia frontier in the Warm Spring Mountain, with his headquarters at

Fort Edwards. Here he was killed and scalped by the Indians in an engagement April 18, 1756. His heirs received the portion of land to which he was entitled, under the Dinwiddie proclamation, for his military service. I admit the middle name *Fontain* from a sketch in the Dinwiddie papers, but while Ensign of Captain van Braam's company he signed his name John Mercer, Ensign. [*See return of company in the appendix.*]

⁷³ Here we come to an abrupt close of the Journal, and are left to speculate whether this paragraph on the 27th was actually the last entry made by Washington in his journal, or whether the remainder was withheld by the French as not calculated to promote their special views in quarters where the "*Memoire Contenant le précis de faits, etc.*," was intended for circulation. Washington in a letter written at Newcastle, March 27, 1757, speaking of the version of the Journal as given by the French, says: "In regard to the Journal, I can only observe, in general, that I kept no regular one during the Expedition; rough notes of occurrences I certainly took, and find them as certainly and strangely metamorphised, some parts left out which I remember were entered, and many things added that never were thought of, the names of men and things egregiously miscalled, and the whole of what I saw Englished is very incorrect and nonsensical."

APPENDIX.⁷⁴

The absence of a record by Washington himself of the closing days of his campaign to the Ohio renders the history less satisfactory than it would have been had he continued the diary, suddenly closed on the 27th of June, down to the return of his forces to Will's Creek. Fortunately, the official records and the correspondence of Washington and others fully cognizant of the operations of the expedition, along with the labors which able historians have bestowed upon the subject, enable us in a measure to supply the omission. To the end of completing the narrative, the following data and occurrences connected with the campaign, from the last entry in the Journal, on the 27th of June, until the troops returned to Will's Creek, and Washington himself to Williamsburg, are submitted as a brief epitome of facts.

⁷⁴The editor here volunteers an appendix in the form of a journal gathered from sources believed to be reliable, to complete the history of the first armed campaign to the Ohio.

However, I do not cease to hope that at no very distant day some zealous historian will discover and give to the public a literal transcript of this Journal of Washington's, which fell into the hands of the French, and which is as yet only known to the world by the partial and garbled French translation published by them for political effect at a time when France and England were at war, and when the editors may have felt themselves justified in suppressing certain parts and giving a bias to others not warranted by an impartial rendering of the records.⁷⁵

⁷⁵The only authority for this Journal is the French version of it printed in "*Memoire Contenant le Precis des Faits,*" &c., Paris, 1756, p. 147. Different translations into English, however, from this original French version have been published, but the original Journal, in Washington's own language and handwriting, has been withheld from the examination of historians, if it is still in existence, which is doubted by some, but not despaired of by the writer.

June 27th. In addition to the troops under the officers already mentioned as having been sent out to open the road between Gist's and the mouth of the Red-Stone Creek, Captain Polson,⁷⁶ it should be stated, was also out with a detachment to reconnoiter and give protection to the working party.

⁷⁶Lieutenant William Polson, or Poulson, was a native of Scotland, and was understood to have been concerned in the rebellion of 1745. He had a taste for military life, and served as a Lieutenant with Washington in 1754. His name appears among the officers complimented by name in a resolution of thanks, for their courage and good conduct in the battle of the Great Meadows, by the House of Burgesses of Virginia, August 30, 1754. November, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie suspended his commission in consequence of Lieutenant Polson neglecting an order to go out and enlist recruits. He asked for a court martial, but, the facts being explained, the Governor was satisfied and recalled the suspension. He joined the Braddock expedition and was killed at the battle of the Monongahela. An annual pension of £26 was granted to his widow by the House of Burgesses, August 13, 1755. His son John was commissioned a Lieutenant in the 60th Regiment, of which Gage was Commandant and Gates Major, May 5, 1756. He served in the Revolution as Captain from July 1, 1777, to May 12, 1779, when he was promoted to Major of the 8th Virginia Regiment. He was a prisoner from October 5, 1779, until exchanged November 2, 1780, at Elizabeth, N. J., when he returned to his home in Accomac County, Va. He subsequently rejoined the army and served until the establishment of peace. [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 114.*]

June 28th Sparks says Washington arrived at Gist's this day, and there learned from the reports of his different scouting parties that the French had been reinforced and that a strong detachment of French

and Indians were on the eve of marching from Fort Duquesne⁷⁷ to attack him without delay. Work was continued by the several parties all this day and nearly eight miles of road cleared, leaving less than eight miles, presenting no great obstacles, to complete the road to the Monongahela, at the mouth of Red Stone Creek.

⁷⁷Fort Duquesne, a name which the French, while in possession of the Ohio Valley, gave to their fort at the junction of the Monongahela and the Alleghany rivers, is now the site of the city of Pittsburg. It was named in honor of Marquis Duquesne, at that time Governor of New France; he having ordered the erection of a fort at this place.

June 29th A council of war was called, at which it was resolved to concentrate all their troops at Gist's, fortify themselves there and await the advance of the French.

Gist's house, around which a clearing had been made, was situated in a heavily wooded country on a beautiful elevation, now known as Mount Braddock. The natural advantages of this spot indicated it as the most desirable site for a fort. It was accordingly selected, intrenchments and breastworks commenced and defensive preparations prosecuted with vigor.⁷⁸ A messenger was sent to request Captain Mackaye to march his company to Gist's without delay, which

he promptly complied with. Orders were also sent for the immediate return to Gist's of the detachments under Captains Lewis, Waggoner, Mercer and Polson to assist in the work on the fortifications.

⁷⁸ Gist's Fort begun by Colonel Washington, but not completed, was at his new settlement in 1754. The site is now known as Mount Braddock, in Dunbar Township, and is about the geographical center of Fayette county, Pa.

In the House of Burgesses October 30, 1754: "A petition of Christopher Gist, was presented to the House and read, setting forth that he had for some years past used his utmost endeavours to promote the settlement of His Majesty's lands on the River Ohio, and had engaged a considerable number of families to remove there from the adjoining provinces, which was prevented after the first of them came there by a survey made by one William Russel, which included the land where the first settlement was begun. That the petitioner, having settled there with his family, upon the late incursions of the French His Majesty's forces, under the command of Colonel Washington, encamped at the petitioner's plantation, and his Horses and Carriage being employed in his Majesty's services, he was thereby prevented from removing the greatest part of his effects, to the value of nearly two hundred pounds, which the French either took away or destroyed, besides setting fire to all his houses, and fencing which had been removed and used as a palisade for the security of His Majesty's forces, to a considerable value ; and praying that this House will be pleased to make him such allowance for repairing his losses as they shall think fit ; as he has

been, and still shall be, ready on all occasions to resign his life, and small fortune, in promoting the settlement of that part of His Majesty's Dominions, so necessary to the preservation and interest of all his American plantations.

“Ordered, that the said Petition be referred to the consideration of the next Session of the Assembly.”

“HOUSE OF BURGESSES, *May 7, 1755.*”

“The Petition of Christopher Gist was presented and read.” “May 9, 1755, House of Burgesses. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee that the Petition of Christopher Gist praying to be allowed a satisfaction for the losses he sustained by the incursion of the French be rejected.”

This decision, as we see the facts, seems to have been a real hardship and was certainly unjust. It is possible that some subsequent action rectified this determination, but with that the writer is unacquainted.

June 30th The troops were all assembled at Gist's and actively engaged in erecting a formidable fortification, when Col. Washington, owing to the receipt of further and more definite information concerning the enemy and their manœuvres, called another council of war, before which he laid all the most recent intelligence of the strength and movements of the French forces now advancing up the Monongahela River to attack the English. At this council it was unanimously resolved to abandon their works at Gist's and retreat forthwith to Will's Creek. For want of

transportation the troops had to leave behind much of their baggage, and with but meager supplies were soon on a retrograde march. Sargent says they "had but two miserable teams fit for use and a few pack horses." On these were placed some intrenching tools and their most essential military stores, to be helped along the road by the soldiers, themselves bearing burthens on their backs.

Colonel Washington set the noble example of giving up his own saddle horse, loading him with the munitions of war and leaving his own personal baggage to less reliable modes of transportation, and gave four pistoles to some soldiers to carry a part of it forward. The other officers followed his example and loaded their horses with packs of military stores. In addition to their arms and their own baggage, which they bore on their backs, the Virginia regiment had nine swivel guns on wheels, which they dragged by hand. The independent company under Captain Mackaye refused to assist in the labor of transporting stores, because they claimed it was not incumbent on them as King's soldiers. Here, at a most inconvenient time, came a practical demonstration of the impracticability of attempting to combine different classes of troops under different regulations, pay and rank to serve in the same Expedition. The conduct of the

King's troops, which could not be concealed, had a discouraging effect upon the Virginia soldiers, dampening their ardor and making them more discontented with their service, excessive fatigue, poor pay and meager supplies.

July 1st The retreating troops arrived at the Great Meadows in the evening en route for Will's Creek. The distance from Gist's was thirteen miles, and it was traversed, under the excitement of the retreat, in less than two days; though it had required thirteen to clear and march over the same route going west.

Colonel Washington made a careful personal inspection of his forces that evening, and had a formal written report made of the Virginia Regiment, as to its condition, the number of officers and men fit for duty, &c. [*See Appendix.*]

The inspection even more than the report convinced Washington that it was impracticable for the troops to proceed further, subjected to the labor they were, without rest, and at the same time preserve an orderly retreat. 'For, as Sparks says: "His men had become so much fatigued from great labor and deficiency of provisions that they could draw the swivels no farther, nor carry the baggage on their backs. They had been eight days without bread, and at the Great Meadows they found only a few bags of flour.

It was thought advisable to wait here, therefore, and fortify themselves in the best manner they could and defend themselves until they should receive supplies and reinforcements.

They had heard of the arrival at Alexandria of two independent companies from New York⁷⁹ twenty days before, and it was presumed they must by this time have reached Will's Creek. Another express was sent to hasten them on with as much dispatch as possible."

⁷⁹ The Assembly of Virginia, for a time, refused to appropriate money for the support of these independent companies and the House of Burgesses was prorogued, September 5, 1754, to October 17, 1754, as a consequence by Governor Dinwiddie in quite a sarcastic address. The facts were that the military enterprises to the west were inspired by the Crown and Ministry of Great Britain, and were but partially sympathized in by the people of the colonies. The independent companies were solicited from New York by the Governor without having advised with the House of Burgesses of Virginia or asking for an appropriation for their support before they arrived. And as it turned out they were of no real service to the Colony of Virginia in this expedition. These New York independent companies are referred to in note 40, page 65. They are the same so anxiously looked for by Colonel Washington at Fort Necessity. They were under the command of Captains Rutherford and Clark. These companies arrived from New York at Hampton Roads in H. M.

S. Centaur, Captain Dudley Diggs, on the 18th of June, 1754. It was not until September 1st that these troops were actually marched to Will's Creek. Here they were shortly after joined by Captain Demerie's independent company from South Carolina, and on the 12th the military works there were commenced.

The officers and soldiers were devoted to Washington and had every confidence in his generalship, were full of courage and free from anything like panic, but declared their inability to carry their baggage and drag the swivels farther, greatly preferring the chances of battle.

After a full and free conference with his officers it was concluded to make a stand where they were. Orders were at once given to enlarge the stockade and to strengthen and extend the fortifications, which had already been erected at the Great Meadows, and named "Fort Necessity." [*See entry in Journal of June 25th.*]

The reason for erecting a fort here, as the troops marched west, seems to have been on account of the exceptionally good pasturage found there for horses and beef cattle, which were so essential to the success of the expedition.

July 2nd This was a busy and anxious day to all at the Great Meadows. The Virginia Regiment

worked with alacrity. Timber was cut to enlarge the cleared grounds around the fort and transported to extend and strengthen the works. Trenches and ditches were dug around the fortifications, after the order of the modern rifle pits. The meadow was cleared of all bushes which could conceal an enemy and the palisades were extended to inclose and secure the baggage, the horses and beef cattle, and everything put in as good a state of defence as time and the means at their disposal would admit.

Much has been written about the battle of the "Great Meadows" and the capitulation of "Fort Necessity," the location of this fort, its size, its form, etc. It was in no sense an ideal fortification or a model to be patterned after, but was rather a sort of "Hobson's choice," accepted on the theory of "any port in a storm," and was appropriately from these circumstances named "Fort Necessity." The most accurate description of this fortification is the one based upon an actual instrumental survey made in 1816 by Mr. Freeman Lewis, a lithograph of which may be seen in "*Lowdermilk's History of Cumberland.*"

Skirmishers and double picket lines were kept out to gain information and prevent surprise. These reported the steady advance of the French and Indian

forces estimated to amount to considerably over a thousand.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Villiers, in his Journal, says that M. Contrecoeur had detailed for this service five hundred French and eleven hundred Indians. This was probably an over estimate. [*See Memoire Contenant le Precis des Faits, etc.*]

The French had the advantage of the road just opened by Washington's troops, nearly all the way from the Monongahela River, and when they neared the Meadows their troops marched in columns.

July 3^d Early this morning one of Washington's pickets was brought in, wounded by one of the advance skirmishers of the French, whose column was reported to be only four miles distant, and advancing. At eleven o'clock the enemy came in view of Fort Necessity and began firing from a distance of six hundred yards, but without effect. Colonel Washington had his troops drawn up in the open, level ground outside of the trenches awaiting an attack. This he expected would have been made as soon as the French forces could emerge from the woods, and he ordered his men to reserve their fire until the enemy should approach near enough for it to take effect. The French, however, continued their distant firing, which Washington supposed was designed

to draw the Virginians into the woods, as the enemy did not seem inclined to come close or attack the fort by assault, as their number would seem to have justified.

Seeing the enemy would not leave the cover of the woods, Washington after a time drew his men back into the trenches and gave orders for them to fire according to their discretion, as opportunity offered. The French and Indians kept on the rising ground nearest the fort and wherever sheltered by trees, and continued a brisk firing, but mainly beyond range from the Fort, at no time appearing on the open plain.

The rain fell incessantly all day, but the engagement continued without intermission until eight o'clock at night, when it had become quite dark. For the last two hours the firing from the swivels within the fort had been increased in frequency.

At eight o'clock the French called requesting a parley. Washington suspecting that this was a stratagem on their part to have an officer enter the fort to discover its condition, at first paid no heed to the proposal. But upon the call being repeated, and with it the proposition for the English to send out one of their own officers, at the same time engaging for his safety and return, he acceded to the request.

Captain van Braam was at the time the only available officer with Washington who could speak French, and he was therefore sent to see what communication they desired to make. Ensign Peyromi, a Frenchman by birth, in the Virginia regiment, had a short time before been dangerously wounded, and was then incapable of rendering any service. Captain van Braam returned in a short time, accompanied by M. le Mercier, a French officer, bringing a verbal proposition from the French commander, M. de Villiers, for granting a capitulation to the troops in "Fort Necessity."⁸¹

⁸¹General de Villiers professed to be animated by a desire for peace, and proceeded on the theory that France and England were not at war; that he was on the rightful and long recognized possessions of his Christian Majesty, the King of France; that it was unnatural for him to make prisoners of the soldiers of a friendly power, and he was therefore prepared to grant honorable conditions to the English, in the nature of a summons to depart.

Washington had by no means despaired of making a successful defence against an assault, but he had witnessed with sorrow the loss of his horses and beef cattle by their escape and by their slaughter during the engagement; he was conscious, too, of his insufficient stock of provisions and the scanty ammunition he had to rely upon in case of a siege.

The proposal and the conditions suggested were verbally reported to Washington and his officers by Captain van Braam. Objections being made to certain propositions, Captain van Braam and le Mercier were twice sent back to de Villiers for conferences. When finally an understanding was reached, they returned the third time with the articles of capitulation reduced to writing, but in French. No English version or translation of the agreement was made in writing, van Braam undertaking to translate verbally the articles and terms of agreement by word of mouth, and by the aid of the light of a single tallow candle. The first proposition had stipulated for the surrender to the French of all the artillery and military stores. This was objected to by Washington and readily modified to the destruction of the artillery.

On several other matters of difference the French made concessions and seemed desirous to accommodate and reach an agreement promptly.

The main points of the capitulation, as Washington and his officers understood them, were that they were allowed to return to Virginia without molestation by the French or Indians. That they should march out of the fort with the honors of war, drums beating and colors flying, and with all their effects and military

stores, except the artillery which was to be destroyed. One swivel gun they were to retain. This, however, had to be abandoned for want of transportation and was destroyed by Washington. The stipulation not to build forts on the lands of His Christian Majesty was not made a circumstance of, because the Americans held that the French had no lands on the Ohio. The further stipulation for the return of the French prisoners taken at the skirmish with de Jumonville, and for the fulfillment of which Captains van Braam and Stobo⁸² were given to the French as hostages, Washington fully expected would be cheerfully and promptly complied with.⁸³

⁸²Major Robert Stobo was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1727. He was the son of William Stobo, merchant, and his wife — (Mitchell), daughter of James Mitchell, of Balmore. Robert was the only son of his parents that lived past infancy. In youth, he was delicate and was carefully watched over by both father and mother, who secured for him the foundation of a good education at the Latin School. His father died in 1740, leaving Robert to the care of his mother and near relatives. His mother died a few years later. On leaving the Latin School, he attended for a season or two, the University of Glasgow. In accordance with his own desire, his friends determined in 1742 to send him to Virginia, to serve in a store conducted by merchants from Glasgow, where he discharged his duties to the satisfaction of his employers. He then resolved to begin business for himself, and

in 1747 he returned to Glasgow and converted some houses, he inherited, into money investing it in merchandise, after which he returned to Virginia in hopes of acquiring wealth and establishing himself in business. He was a man of intelligence, of cheerful disposition, fond of gayety, much courted by the best people, and kept almost an open house for the entertainment of his friends. These traits did not further his commercial enterprises. Among his particular admirers was Governor Dinwiddie, so that on his applying for an appointment in a regiment to be raised in the spring of 1754 to oppose the pretensions of the French, he was promptly appointed the oldest Captain in the organization. He carried with him his hospitable disposition, providing himself liberally for the campaign. He had ten servants, mechanics whom he enlisted, and he provided himself with a covered wagon, which he filled with every necessary to make the mountainous deserts of the Alleghanies as agreeable as the situation would admit. On the march and in the field he kept an open table, which was plentifully supplied with game by hunters whom he employed for this purpose. Besides other provisions, he set out with a whole butt of Madeira wine. With all his conviviality he was discreet in his habits of indulgence, and by his devotion to the service and his attention to duty, won the good opinion of his brother officers, as well as of the enlisted men. With all, he had a daring and adventurous disposition, and had projects for the employment of a company of mechanics wherever the English should build forts. It was this courageous disposition which led him to offer to be one of the hostages provided for in the capitulation, that he might have an early opportunity of studying the situa-

tion of the country about Fort Duquesne. His plans were thwarted by the turn events took, by his prolonged imprisonment and the coming on of the war. He proved an active and efficient officer in the campaign, and superintended the construction of the trenches, breast works and rifle pits around Fort Necessity, the existence of which had so much to do with deterring the French from assaulting the fort. He bore a conspicuous and honorable part in the battle of the Great Meadows, and gave his ready assent, if he did not actually solicit, to be one of the hostages. At this juncture in his career, as he had no further use for his sword, he presented it with feeling and becoming remarks to the lieutenant of his own company, William Polson, and begged of him not to spare it when opportunity offered to draw it in behalf of his country. As Polson, gallantly bearing this sword, fell with the unfortunate Braddock, it was finally restored to its original owner, long after his escape from Quebec, and he ever after wore it with singular esteem. He was commissioned Major by the Governor July 20, 1754, and was so known ever after. His long imprisonment without any effort on the part of Virginia or Great Britain for his release, his fortitude while in confinement and his escape from the French, all went to invest him with the character of a hero. While confined at Fort Duquesne, he drew a plan of the fort, with all its approaches, and suggestions how the works could be successfully assaulted. He signed his own name to it and sent it by a friendly Indian to the commanding officer at Will's Creek. He was aware that he was taking great risks in this matter, and that he might lose his life if detected.

In his letter he argued that "when we engaged to

serve our country we expected to do it with our lives." "Consider the good of the expedition without regard to us." "Haste to strike." "Let the good of the expedition be considered preferably to our safety." Such was the spirit and the language of the courageous Captain, who in turn languished, for periods, in every French fort from Fort Duquesne down to Quebec. His cheerful and gentle manners captivated the Indians as well as the French, and in time he became measurably familiar with the language of both. Captain Stobo's letters from Fort Duquesne having fallen into the hands of the French at the battle of the Monongahela, led to his close confinement in the fortress in Quebec as a dangerous spy. A letter from him was laid before the Assembly of Virginia by the Governor March 30, 1756. The House of Burgesses voted him £300 to be sent by the treasurer on the first convenient occasion. [*Journal House of Burgesses, 30 April, 1756.*] He escaped from prison in Quebec, whereupon 6,000 livres being offered for his capture, he was retaken. He was finally tried for treasonable acts while a prisoner and was sentenced to death, but this judgment was not approved by the French King. He finally managed again to escape from his prison, but after several days was recaptured and brought back. After another year in prison he again eluded the vigilance of his guards and escaped to the river. Favored by the tide, he descended the St. Lawrence, in a boat, past Orleans Isle; by break of day he landed and concealed himself in the forest. He finally, after much suffering and many hairbreadth escapes, reached the English fleet, and with the gallant General Wolfe returned north and at Louisburg did good service by his familiarity with the city of Quebec. He was finally sent

as a confidential courier to General Amherst. After faithfully performing this service he was favored with a letter to his old friend, the Governor of Virginia, to whom he went and from whom he received flattering attention. The Governor of Virginia had had a letter from Captain Stobo, while a hostage in Quebec, which was made a message to the House of Burgesses. This letter is not spread upon the Journal, but the proceedings for March 31, 1759, have the following record: "Upon motion made, ordered, that the Speaker do transmit to Colonel Peter Schuyler, of the Jerseys, the thanks of this house for his unparalleled tenderness and humanity to Captain Robert Stobo and several other inhabitants of this Colony, who have been and still are unfortunate prisoners in Canada, and that the treasurer of this Colony do, by the first opportunity, remit him the full amount of his account now laid before this house, with interest from the time the money was advanced."

The same Journal for November 19, 1759, also contains the following:

"A message from the Governor was delivered by Mr. Waltho :

"Mr. Speaker :

"The Governor has commanded me to lay before the House a Letter his Honor has just received from his Excellency General Amherst in favor of Captain Stobo, by whom it was sent, which, with that gentleman's singular sufferings, he recomends to the immediate consideration of this House.

"The House immediately proceeded to the consideration of the saide Letter, and the same being read,

"Upon a motion made, it was

Resolved, That the sum of £1,000 be paid by the Treasurer of this Colony to Captain Robert Stobo, over and above the pay that is due to him from the time of his rendering himself a Hostage to this day, as a reward for his zeal to his Country and a recompense for the great hardships he has suffered during his confinement in the enemy's country.

“Ordered, That the said resolve be engrossed; and that Mr. Bland do carry it up to the Council for their concurrence.

“Upon a motion made,

Resolved, That an humble address be made to his Honor the Governor to desire that he will be pleased to take Captain Stobo into his special care and favor, and promote him in the service of his Colony; and that Mr. Richard Henry Lee do wait upon his Honor with the said address.

“Upon motion made,

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be given Mr. Robert Stobo for his steady and inviolable attachment to the interest of this country; for his singular courage and bravery exerted on all occasions during this present war, and for the magnanimity with which he has supported himself during his confinement in Canada; and that he be congratulated in the name of this House on his safe and happy return to this Colony; and that Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Bland and Mr. Washington do wait on him for that purpose.”

Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia,
November 20, 1759:

“Mr. Nicholas reported that the committee appointed had, according to order, waited on Captain Stobo with the resolution of this House, to return him their thanks for his late services to this Colony, to which he has returned the following answer:

“MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES :

“The distinguishing tokens of favor and Benevolence which you have vouchsafed voluntarily to confer on me, and that unanimously and immediately upon my happy return to this country, has administered to my heart the greatest Consolation it was susceptible of, gratified every wish it was capable of entertaining, and imprinted upon it the most indelible sense of Gratitude it could possibly be affected with.

“To be informed by the voice of the public that I have discharged my duty to their satisfaction, and merited their thanks for my conduct, is the highest glory my ambition could aspire at, and will determine me upon any future occasion, to exert myself with all the vigor and alacrity which the united ardor of gratitude and duty can inspire.

“ROBERT STOBO.”

Captain Stobo left Virginia for England, February 18, 1760. On the 5th of June he was made Captain of the 15th Foot, Captain Amherst's regiment, and served in the West Indies in 1762. He returned to England in 1767, and left the army in 1770, dying soon after. [*Craig's Memoirs of Stobo, Dinwiddie Papers, etc.*]

The articles of capitulation were finally reduced to writing, duplicate copies were made, but both in French, and about midnight they were signed by the commanding officers, in the following order: James Mackaye, G. Washington, Coulon de Villiers. Each party kept a copy of the articles of capitulation,⁸⁴ the two Captains going over the same night to the

French camp as hostages. The French were to take possession of the fort at sunrise on the 4th, immediately on its evacuation by the English.⁸⁵

⁸³In the matter of the exchange of these prisoners Governor Dinwiddie proved obstinate, and it was not in Washington's power to carry out that stipulation in the capitulation. The hostages, so far as Virginia was concerned, though not forgotten, were practically abandoned to their fate. This did not comport with Washington's sense of justice to the men, nor was it honorable on the part of the government of Virginia. The Governor's policy was, however, to exasperate the French rather than to conciliate them.

⁸⁴The following translation of the terms of capitulation agreed to between Monsieur de Villier of the French forces and Colonel George Washington in command of the Virginia troops, in surrendering Fort Necessity after the battle of the Great Meadows, July 3, 1754, is copied from the manuscript record in the Force collection in the Library of Congress. Slight verbal variations are observable in most of the translations. To this translation is appended the French version given in Sparks' Writings of Washington.

Capitulation granted by M. de Villier, captain in command of the troops of His Christian Majesty, to the Commander of the English troops now in Fort Necessity, which has been erected within the Dominion of the King :

“The 3^d of July, 1754, at eight in the evening.
To Wit:

“Whereas our intention has never been to disturb the peace and harmony which exist between the two friendly princes, but only to avenge the murder of one officer, the bearer of dispatches, and of his escort, as well as to prevent the forming of any establishment on the lands of the King my Master.

“For these considerations we wish to grant favor to all the English who are in the aforesaid fort, upon the following conditions :

“ARTICLE 1st. * We permit the English Commander to withdraw with all the garrison, in order that he may return peaceably to his country, and to shield him from all insult at the hands of our French, and to restrain the savages who are with us as much as may be in our power.

“ART. 2nd. He shall be permitted to withdraw and to take with him whatever belongs to his troops, except the artillery, which we reserve for ourselves.

“ART. 3^d. We grant them the honors of war; they shall withdraw with beating drums, and with a small piece of cannon, wishing by this means to show that we consider them friends.

“ART. 4th. As soon as these articles shall be signed by both parties, they shall take down the English flag.

“ART. 5th. To-morrow at daybreak a detachment of French shall lead forth the garrison and take possession of the aforesaid fort.

“ART. 6th. Since the English have scarcely any horses or oxen left, they shall be allowed to hide their property, in order that they may return to seek for it after they shall have recovered their horses ; for this purpose they shall be permitted to leave such number of troops as guards as they may think proper, under this condition that they give their word of honor that they will work on no establishment either

in the surrounding country or beyond the Highlands during one year beginning from this day.

“ART. 7th. Since the English have in their power an officer and two cadets, and, in general, all the prisoners whom they took when they murdered Lord Jumonville, they now promise to send them with an escort to Fort Duquesne, situated on Belle River, and to secure the safe performance of this treaty article, as well as of the treaty, Messrs. Jacob van Braam and Robert Stobo, both Captains, shall be delivered to us as hostages until the arrival of our French and Canadians herein before mentioned.

“We on our part declare that we shall give an escort to send back in safety the two officers who promise us our French in two months and a half at the latest.

“Copied on one of the posts of our block-house the same day and year as before.

“(Signed) MESSRS. JAMES MACKAYE, G^c.
G^o. WASHINGTON,
COULON VILLIER.”

The following are the articles of capitulation, as published at the time from the duplicate copy retained by Colonel Washington: [*See Sparks.*]

“ARTICLE I. Nous accordons au commandant Anglais de se retirer avec toute sa garnison, pour s'en retourner paisiblement dans son pays, et lui promettons d'empêcher qu'il lui soit fait aucune insulte par nos Français, et de maintenir, autant qu'il sera en notre pouvoir, tous les sauvages qui sont avec nous.

“ART. II. Il lui sera permis de sortir, et d'emporter tout ce qui leur appartiendra, à l'exception de l'artillerie, que nous nous réservons.

“ART. III. Que nous leur accordons les honneurs de la guerre; qu'ils sortiront tambour battant avec

une petite pièce de canon, voulant bien par-là leur prouver que nous les traitons en amis.

ART. IV. Que si-tôt les articles signés de part et d'autre, ils amèneront le pavillon Anglais.

“ART. V. Que demain à la pointe du jour, un détachement Français ira faire defiler la garnison et prendre possession du dit fort.

“ART. VI. Que comme les Anglais n'ont presque plus de chevaux ni bœufs, ils seront libres de mettre leurs effets en cache pour venir chercher lorsqu'ils auront rejoint des chevaux; ils pourront à cette fin laisser des gardiens, en tel nombre qu'ils voudront, *aux conditions qu'ils donneront parole d'honneur de ne plus travailler à aucun établissement dans ce lieu-ci, ni deçà de la hauteur des terres, pendant une année à compter de ce jour.*

“ART. VII. Que comme les Anglais ont en leur pouvoir un officier, deux cadets, et généralement les prisonniers qu'ils nous ont faits *dans l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville*, et qu'ils promettent de les envoyer avec sauvegarde jusqu'au Fort Duquesne, situé sur la Belle-Rivière; et que pour sureté de cet article, *ainsi que de ce traité*, Messrs. Jacob Vanbraam et Robert Stobo, tous deux capitaines, nous seront remis en ôtage jusqu' à l'arrivée de nos Français et Canadiens ci-dessus mentionnés.”

The parts here marked in italics were misrepresented by the interpreter, or at least the meaning of them was so imperfectly and obscurely expressed by him, as to be misunderstood by Colonel Washington and his officers. The words, *pendant une année à compter de ce jour*, which occur at the end of the sixth article in the copy retained by Colonel Washington, are not found in the copy of the articles printed by the French government.

⁸⁵ No suspicion seems to have occurred to Washington and his officers that any other interpretation or meaning could be given to the articles of capitulation than the one verbally given to them by van Braam. But, either from ignorance of the French language on the part of van Braam, or some base motive, Colonel Washington was in this particular imposed upon, which, however, he did not learn until he had reached Virginia. Governor Sharp, in the letter to Lord Bury of November 5, 1754, writes [*Archives of Maryland, 1753-57, p. 116*] that the reason Washington "did not stand longer on the Defensive He attributes to the great improbability there was of holding out against such a Superiority of numbers when he had not any expectations of seeing the other troops come to his Assistance, and being also in want of both Ammunition and Provisions, but that He was prevailed on to sign a dishonorable Capitulation is owing, he declares, and concurrent Circumstances support his Assertion, not to these Difficulties, but to the Infidelity of one of his Captains, now a Hostage with the enemy, on whom he depended to interpret to him the terms and Conditions proposed by the Enemy, which were written in French, a Language that Mr. Washington had the misfortune to be entirely unacquainted with."

July 4th Colonel Washington and his courageous though unsuccessful troops filed out of Fort Necessity between a guard of French soldiers, and, although they marched with drums beating and colors flying, they felt a humiliation at their failure, for which they knew others were responsible. They were forced to

march as best they could to Will's Creek, a distance of about 51 miles, through an inhospitable wilderness. Their horses had been all killed or lost in the battle. They had therefore no means of transportation for baggage, or even for their wounded, save upon stretchers or upon the backs of the soldiers, who had scarcely enough food to serve them for three days. They traveled the first day three miles, and encamped for the night. Washington remained behind during the forenoon to see that all moved off in an orderly manner and to secure the destruction of his powder and other stores which it was found impossible to move. Much of the baggage, as well as stores, was also destroyed to keep it from falling into the hands of the enemy. For, notwithstanding the stipulation in the capitulation of protection from the Indians, the march was scarce commenced when a large body of Indians, allies of the French, began plundering the baggage. Seeing that the French could or would not restrain them, baggage that could not be borne on their backs, and which it was provided might be left with a guard and sent for, the soldiers were ordered to destroy, as the Indians were carrying it off in their presence.

A detail was made from each company to march with and care for the sick and wounded, with instruc-

tions to move on by short stages, and as best they could. A few soldiers, as is shown by the report made to Colonel Washington on the 9th of July, grew foot-sore and lame, and fell behind on the road, and were cared for by the detail provided for this purpose.

The French, apprehending that relief for the English might possibly arrive, destroyed the fort as soon as it was vacated, and the same day (the 4th) they marched two miles and encamped for the night, on their return toward Fort Duquesne. On the 5th the French reached Gist's, and Villiers in his Journal says: "I ordered the intrenchment to be demolished, and the houses to be burnt down, and after having detached M. de la Chauvignerie to burn the houses around about I continued my route, and encamped three leagues from there." In his journal he also states they reached the hangard or store house at the mouth of Red Stone Creek on the 6th, which they burned, and then embarked in their canoes. On the 7th he says: "We burned⁸⁶ down all the settlements we found, and about four o'clock I delivered my detachment to M. de Contrecoeur."⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Lieutenant John Frazier, gunsmith, interpreter and trader, resided at the mouth of Turtle Creek, and his house was included in the destruction. He was probably a German, and, according to Edward Shippen, Prothonotary of Lancaster county, Pa. He had

resided for twelve years at Venango when he was obliged by the French to leave. Mr. Frazier then built himself a cabin on the Monongahela River, near the mouth of Turtle Creek, and not far from the scene a few years later of Braddock's defeat. Thither he removed and conducted his business of gunsmithing and trading with the Indians. On the organization of Captain Trent's company, in the spring of 1754, to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio, the company to be enlisted west of the Alleghany Mountains as far as practicable, Mr. Frazier was induced to accept the Lieutenancy, but he stipulated at the same time that he was not to be required to reside at the fort, or to attend there except on special occasions, nor to give up his own business; he was commissioned with this understanding. This in part explains his absence from the fort when the French invested it, and obliged Ensign Ward, the only officer present on duty, to evacuate the works under construction on the summons of the French Commander Contrecoeur, on the 17th of April, 1754. Whenever Mr. Frazier is mentioned in the literature of these times, he is spoken of as a man of courage and industry. The following reference to him by Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Colonel Fry, March 18, 1754, has some interest: "As Captain Trent has a d'ble compa' you cannot fix the Lieut's till you come to the Ohio, and if you divide his Compa' the oldest Lieut' has a right for Capt's com'o; but as he is a Dutchman and cannot speak good English, I think you better prefer the next to him." Colonel Washington, on August 20, 1754, in a letter to the Governor, recommended Mr. Frazier for the office of Adjutant, "who, I think, I can fully answer for, let his former conduct be what it will."

In November, according to the Governor's letter, he was appointed Adjutant of the Virginia Regiment. It is presumed this refers to the same person. [*Brock in Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 415. Pa. Col. Rec., vol. 5, p. 659.*]

⁸⁷We have Gist's statement that eleven families had taken up land under the encouragement of the Ohio Company and made improvements in the Monongahela settlement. We regret that their names have not been preserved. But we here have from Villiers' Journal the specific statement that his troops not only destroyed Gist's house, but those of several others.

July 5th From their pine-tree-canopied camp three miles from Fort Necessity, the weary and mortified troops departed early in the morning, for they had no tents to strike and fold and but a meager breakfast to partake of. They reached and forded the Youghiogheny this day at the Great Crossing,⁸⁸ the strong and vigorous helping on the road the weak and weary, by occasionally bearing part of his load or sharing with him his water can or cold meat from his bullet pouch.

⁸⁸Great Crossing refers to the fording or crossing place of the Youghiogheny River, ten miles above Turkeyfoot. The locality is identical with the present village of Somerfield, in Somerset County, Pa., and about 40 miles west of Cumberland, Md.

Common wants and necessities soon establish a community of feeling and comradeship. In this way

the Virginia Regiment and Captain Mackaye's independent company trudged along to Will's Creek, camping at night, or halting during the day only for needed rest.

July 9th The main part of the more able-bodied of the troops arrived at the fort at Will's Creek on this evening, when the officers of the several companies made a detailed report to Colonel Washington, of the present condition and actual loss of each in the battle of the Great Meadows. [*See Regimental Report farther on.*]

Here on the banks of the Potomac the weary soldiers found needed rest and supplies.

After a few days spent in providing for the comforts of his men, Washington, accompanied by Captain Mackaye, proceeded to Williamsburg to report the result of the campaign to the Governor.⁸⁹

⁸⁹The campaign to the Ohio ending in the battle of the Great Meadows and the capitulation of Fort Necessity, was a great disappointment to the British Ministry and to Governor Dinwiddie and his friends, who had confidently looked upon the scheme as certain to be a surprise and to end in a complete check to the French. Although not fulfilling these expectations, it was eminently useful in centering the attention of the English Colonies in a policy of the British Ministry to dispossess the French, from not only their possessions in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys, but in Canada also. The frontiersmen and

the Colonies were now more than ever encouraged by the British Ministry to be aggressive, without waiting the formalities of a declaration of war.

Washington, with his small force, acquitted himself with honor, as did the whole body of his troops. The real difficulties, in a military sense, were now better than ever understood; and the resolution was stronger than ever, on the part of Virginia, to persevere in the determination to plant a fort at the forks of the Ohio. The initial blow had been struck which led not only to the expulsion of the French but also to the independence of the American Colonies.

The independent company from Virginia remained at Will's Creek.

In a brief time a full report of the armed expedition to the Ohio to build forts and its failure was laid before the House of Burgesses by the Governor, accompanied by detailed accounts of its operations, by Colonel Washington and Captain Mackaye.

The consideration of the report of the expedition was duly referred to an appropriate committee of the House of Burgesses for their examination, which, after careful deliberation, they reported to the House:

“ August 30, 1754. Upon motion made in House of Burgesses, Ordered, That the Thanks of this House be given to Colonel George Washington, Captain Mackaye of his Majesty's Independent Company and the officers under his command — Major Adam Stephen, Captains Robert Stobo, Peter Hog, Andrew

Lewis, George Mercer, Lieutenants Thomas Wagoner, William Polson, John Savage, James Towers, Ensigns William Bronaugh, John Mercer, William Peyronie and James Craik — for their gallant and brave Behavior in the Defence of their Country, and that the Speaker⁹⁰ be desired to write to Colonel Washington, to acquaint him of the same, to desire him to inform the Gentlemen (the officers) of it, and to communicate to the Soldiers the just Sense this House has of their Bravery also." (See Journal House of Burgesses.)

⁹⁰ Hon. John Robinson was Speaker of the House of Burgesses, and *ex-officio* Treasurer of the Colony of Virginia. His term of office extended from 1754 until his death in 1766. The offices were subsequently divided. He was a personal friend of Colonel Washington, and enjoyed to the fullest extent the confidence and respect of the leading citizens of Virginia.

Many letters on public business passed between the Speaker and Colonel Washington while the latter was in command of the Virginia troops on the western border of the state, protecting the settlement from Indian incursions. Thursday, October 24, 1754, the Speaker acquainted the House that, in obedience to the commands of the House the last session, he had transmitted to Colonel George Washington the thanks of the House, etc. * * * and that he had received from the said Colonel Washington an answer as follows: (Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1754.)

Washington's reply, October 23, 1754 :

The Journal of the House of Burgesses of Virginia for October 24th 1754, contains the following: " Mr. Speaker acquainted the House, That in Obedience to the commands of the House the last Session, he had transmitted to Col. George Washington, Captain Mackay, of his Majesty's Independent Company, and the Officers under his Command, and the other officers of the Virginia Regiment, the thanks of this House for their late gallant and Brave Behaviour in Defence of their Country and had desired Colonel Washington to communicate to the Soldiers, the just Sense this House had of their Bravery also; and that he had received from the said Col. Washington an Answer as follows."

" WILLIAMSBURG, *October 23^d*, 1754.

SIR.—

Nothing could give me, and the Officers under my Command, greater Satisfaction, than to receive the Thanks of the House of Burgesses, in so particular and public a Manner, for our Behaviour in the late unsuccessful Engagement with the French, and we unanimously hope that our future Proceedings in the service of our Country, will entitle us to a Continuance of your Approbation, I assure you, Sir I shall

always look upon it as my indispensable Duty to endeavour to deserve it.

I was desired by the officers of the Virginia Regiment to make their suitable Acknowledgments for the Honor they have receiv'd in your Thanks;

I therefore hope the inclosed will be agreeable, and answer their, and the intended Purpose of

Sir your most obedient humble Servant

GEO. WASHINGTON."

"And that he had also received inclosed in the above, a joint Letter of all the Officers in the Virginia Regiment, signed by Col. Washington, in their Behalf as follows:

"To the Worshipful the Speaker, and the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses:

We the Officers of the Virginia Regiment are highly sensible of the particular Mark of Distinction, with which you have honored us in returning your Thanks for our Behaviour in the late Action: and cannot help testifying our grateful Acknowledgments for your high Sense of what we shall esteem a Duty to our Country, and to the best of Kings.

Favor'd with your Regard, we shall zealously endeavour to deserve your Applause, and by our future Actions, strive to convince the Worshipful

House of Burgesses how much we esteem their Approbation; and as we ought, to regard it as the voice of our Country.

Signed for the whole Corps

GEO. WASHINGTON."

"The following action was taken by the House of Burgesses of Virginia, October 25, 1754.

"Upon motion made,

"*Resolved*, That an honorable address be presented to his Honor, the Governor, to express our approbation of the conduct and gallant behaviour of the several officers of the Virginia forces, except George Muse, late Lieutenant-Colonel, and Jacob van Braam, late Captain, and to desire his Honor to recommend them in a particular manner to his Majesty's favor.

* * *."

The House of Burgesses also granted a bounty of a pistole to each and every soldier who served in the battle of the Great Meadows.

The Morning Return of Colonel Washington's Regiment, July 1, 1754.⁹¹

⁹¹ This report of the Virginia Regiment, at the time under the command of Colonel Washington, made just before the battle of the Great Meadows, as well as the reports of the several companies composing the regiment, on the 9th of July, at Will's Creek,

after the battle, are preserved among the manuscript collection made by Peter Force, and now in the Library of Congress. The papers have the appearance of being the originals; at all events they bear Washington's indorsement. They are deemed of such importance as to justify their being given as a part of the history of this noted campaign.

	Fit for duty and present.	Absent.	On command.	Sick.	Prisoners.	Number of the whole.
Colonels	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2
Majors	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Captains	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Lieutenants	4	.....	1	.....	.....	5
Ensigns	3	.....	.....	.....	1	4
Serjeants	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
Corporals	9	.....	.....	1	.....	10
Drummers	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6
Privets	218	3	26	1	1	249
Total	259	3	27	2	2	293

Indorsed in Colonel Washington's handwriting,
 "A report of y^e Regim^t July 1st, 1754."

Return of Captain Stobo's Company, July 9, 1754.

<i>Men Fit for Duty.</i>	David Welch,
James Carson,	Nathaniel Lewis,
John Goldson,	John Franklin,
John James,	Adam Jones,
William Coffland,	John Carroll,

Charles Smith,
William Stallons,
Robert McKoy,
Jessy Morris,
Joseph Gibbs,
Anthony Kennedy,
Charles Waday,
Henry Bayly,
William Deweny,
Nicholas Foster,
Jean Moore,
Ja^s Welch,
Joseph Costerton,
Henry Bowman,
Henry Neill,
John Bryan,
Jacob Gowing,
Benjam Gause,
John Brown,
James Milton,
Wm Swallow.

Wounded.

Michael McGrath,
Michael Reily,
Patrick Durphy,
James Good,

Alexander Stewart,
Robert McCulroy,
Peregrin Williams,
Solomon Botson (Deserted).

Killed in the Engagement.

John Ritson,
Daniel McClaran,
Thomas Fisher,
John Tranton.

Left with sick.

Edward Graves,
Richard Morris.

Left Lame on road.

Thomas Langdon (Serjeant),
Ware Rocket,
Daniel Staple.

Sick in camp.

Robert Tunstile (Serjeant),
Dennis Kinton,
John Allen,
James Batty,
Thomas Ogden.

Absent as Hostage.

Capt Robert Stobo.

Indorsed by Colonel Washington, "Return of Captain Stobo's Company."

A Return of Captain Stobo's Company July 9, 1754.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Left with wounded.	Lame on road.	Absent.	Sick in camp.	Fit for duty.
Captain .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	Hostage
Lieutenant .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ensign .....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Serjeants .....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Corporal	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Privet Men	4	8	2	2	2	3	30

WILLIAM POLSON.

Indorsed in George Washington's handwriting "Return of Captain Stobo's Company."

Return of Captain Hog's company given the 9th of July, 1754.

<i>Men Fit for Duty.</i>	Michael Scully,
Jesse May,	William Johnston,
James Samuel,	Abner Hazlip,
Joseph Milton,	William Coleman,
Benjamin Hamilton,	Thomas Kitson,
Mathew Cox,	Nicholas Morgan,
John Martin,	Tho ^s Moss,

John Ogilby,
John Roe,
Southey Hazlip,
James Thomas,
Peter Effluck,
Duncan Farguson,
Thomas Chaddwick,
John Ramsay,
Andrew Fowler,
Zachariah Smith,

Tho^s Napp,
Bibby Brooke,
Tho^s Slaughter,
Joseph Gatewood,
Briant Page,
John Meares,
Mathew Levison,
William Underhill,
Tho^s Harris.

Wounded.

Robert Jones,
James Heyter,
Mathew Durham,

Joshua Burton,
Argil House,
David Gorman,
Robert Elliot,
Samuel Hyden,
John Chapman,
Edward Goodwin,
James Ford,
Dudley Skinner.

Lame on the road.

Joseph Scott,
Marshal Pratt,
William Dean,
James Letort,
Dominick Moran.

Left with the wounded.

Andrew Clark,
John Stephens,

Sick in the camp.

Philip Gatewood.

Return made per William Bronaugh.

Indorsed in Colonel Washington's handwriting,
 "A particular return for Captain Hog's company."

A Return of Captain Hog's Company, on the 9th of
 July, 1754.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Left with wound.	Lame on road.	Missing.	Sick in camp.	Fit for duty.
Captain.....	1
Lieutenant.	1
Ensign.....	1
Serjeants.....	2
Corporals.....
Priv Men.....	12	2	15	.....	1	34

Return per W^m Bronaugh.

Indorsed in Colonel Washington's handwriting,
 "Return of Captain Hog's company, a general one."

A particular return of Captain Lewis's Company
 July 9, 1754.

<i>Men Fit for Duty.</i>	William Poor,
John Whitman,	Michael McCannon,
John Smith,	John Maston,
William Harbinson,	John Biddlecome,
Robert Grymes,	Thomas Pearson,
John Poor,	Edward Bailey,

John Powers,
James Furguson,
Jabes Rowe,
John Mulholland,
Patrick Coyle,
John Smith,
John Rodgers,
Mathew Jones,
Joseph Baxter,
James Ludlow,

Tho^s Foster,
Tho^s Burney,
John Burk,
Cornelius Henley,
William Carnes,
Tarance Swinney,
James Smith,
John Field.

Wounded.

Captain Lewis,
Lieutenant Savage,
John McCulley,
James Fullham,
John Rodgers,
Thomas Bird,

Edward Cahell,
Arthur Watts,
Nehemiah Tendell,
John Durham,
Thomas Nicholson,
Nathan Chapman,
Philip Comerley,
George McSwine.

Killed in battle.

Thomas Scott,
Gerrett Clark,
John Ramsay.

Left with sick.

Josias Baker,
Thomas Stedman,
Robert Murphy,
James Tytus,
John McEntire,
Betho^w Burns,
Patrick McPick,
John Truston,
Daniel Malatte,
James McCormack.

Indorsed by Colonel Washington, "A particular return of Captain Lewis' Company."

A return of Captain Lewis' Company given in on 9th of July, 1754.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Left with wound.	Lame on road.	Missing.	Sick in camp.	Fit for duty.
Captain		1					
Lieutenant		1					
Ensign							None.
Serjeant		1					1
Corporal							
Priv Men	3	14	2	3	9		38

Indorsed in Colonel Washington's handwriting, "A general Return of Captain Lewis' Company after y^e Engage^t 3^d of July."

A List of Captain van Braam's Company, July 9th, 1754.

<i>Killed.</i>	Serjeant Rudol. Brickner,
John Robinson,	Wile Johnston,
W ^m Simmons,	George Taylor,
W ^m Bailey.	John Potter,
	Joseph Powell,
<i>Wounded.</i>	Dernsey Simmons.
Serjeant John Hamilton,	

<i>Sick in camp.</i>	W ^m Mitchell,
W ^m Gerrard.	John Stewart,
	John McGuire,
<i>Sick on road.</i>	Charles Allbury,
Robert Bell,	Francis Self,
George Merharren,	John Johnston,
Richard Bolton.	John Campbell,
	Edward King,
<i>On Command.</i>	John Coin,
Thomas Dunahough,	Charles Dunn,
Michael Franks.	Patrick Galloway,
	Jacob Funkhowser,
<i>Absent.</i>	Barnard Draxeller,
William Knowls,	George Gobell,
James Black,	William Carter,
John Brown,	John Thomson,
Nicholas Major,	Thomas Hennessy,
Godfry Bombgarden.	Francis Rogers,
	Benjamin Spiser,
<i>Men Fit for duty.</i>	Edward Whitehead,
Thomas Carter (<i>Serjeant</i>),	Hugh Paul,
John Allen (<i>Corporal</i>),	Angus McDonald,
Esechial Richardson	Arthur Howard,
	(<i>drummer</i>), Mathias Sharp,
Christopher Byarly,	Edward Minor.
	Per John Mercer, <i>Ensign.</i>

Indorsed in Washington's handwriting, "A particular report of Captain van Braam's Company."

A Return of Captain van Braam's Company, given on the 9th of July, 1754.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Left with wound.	Lame on road.	Missing.	Sick in camp.	Fit for duty.	
Captain								Hostage.
Lieutenant		1						
Ensign							1	
Serjeants		2					1	
Corporals		1					1	
Privet Men	3	7	2	3	5	1	26	

A Return for John Mercer, Ensign.

Indorsed in Washington's handwriting, "Return of Captain van Braam's Company."

The within is a true return of Captain Mercer's Company, given in at Will's Creek, July 9, 1754.

<i>Fit for Duty.</i>	David Montgomery,
James Tyrrel,	William Lowery,
John Boyd,	Samuel Arsdale,
Edward Evans,	Nath Barret,
James Dewey,	W ^m Field,
James Gevin,	John Ferguson,
Robert Bennet,	George Gibbons,

Jacob Myer,	<i>Killed.</i>
Frederick Rupart,	Barnaby McKan,
Henry Ernest,	William Pullen.
Alexander Pierry,	
Thomas Burk,	<i>Lame on the Road.</i>
Adam Leonard,	John May,
Hugh Stone,	John Gallahour,
Christoph Bombgardner,	John Clements,
Claud Dallowe,	John Huston,
Christoph Helsley,	W ^m McIntire.
John Beyans,	
Thomas Burris,	<i>Missing.</i>
John Farmer,	John Bisnor,
Philip Walters,	W ^m Holland,
Robert Bennet.	Mathew Howard.

<i>Left with the wounded.</i>	<i>Sick in the camp.</i>
Michael Walker,	Hugh McKay,
W ^m Broughton,	James Daily.
Henry Bristowe,	
Mark Hollis.	

Taken prisoner.
Jacob Arrens.

<i>Wounded.</i>	<i>Absent on leave.</i>
Robert Stewart,	John McQuire.
Tim ^o Conway,	
William Gardner,	
Joshua Jordan.	

Return of Captain Mercer's Company given in the
9th of July, 1754.

	Killed	Wounded	Left with wound	Lame on road	Missing	Sick in camp	Taken prisoner	Fit for duty in camp	Absent on leave	Number of the whole
Captain.		1								
Lieutenant.								None to y ^e company		
Ensign.			1							
Sergeant.			1					1		
Corporals.						1		1		
Privet Men.	2	4	3	5	3	1	1	26	1	52

Given at Will's Creek, per G. Mercer.

On back in Washington's handwriting, "Return of
Captain Mercer's Company."

Also on back in Washington's hand, "A particular
and general return of Captain Mercer's Company."

D^r The Country in Acc^t with George Washington.⁹⁹

1754. Ap ^t 6.	To Expences of the Regim ^t at Edward Thomp- son's in Marching up	}	2	16	6
8.	To Bacon for D ^o of John Vestal at Shanandoah & Ferriages over.				
10.	To Cash to B. Hamilton for discovering y ^e plot of 4 Sold ^r s to Desert.	}	1	4	
	To Cash to M ^r Wood				
	To D ^o for Enlisting Thomas Kitson		17	6	8
	To D ^o for Enlisting Barnaby Evans		1	6	3
	To D ^o to a Joiner for a Standard		1	6	3
	To D ^o to a Blacksmith for mending a Wag:		4	1	1½
	To D ^o for an Acc ^t of Brickners Expenc ^s to Belh ^a with Recrutes in Feb: last.	}		7	6
	To an Express at Edwards's.				
			7		9

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To Cash to Jacob Arrans at Enlisting N. B. } this person was one of Cap ^t Trent's Men, Master of the Indian Language & perfectly acquainted with all the way & Mount ^{ns} betw ⁿ this and y ^e Fork.....	4	6	8
Edward Lucas — another	3	1	6
To Cash to John McGuire at Enlisting.....	1	6	3
To D ^o to John Smith at D ^o	1	6	3
To D ^o to John Baker at D ^o	1	6	3
To D ^o to W ^m Cromwell D ^y C ^y to buy Cattle ...	18	8	4
To Enlisting John Lee	1	6	3
To Cash for Flour	19	14	7 ³ / ₄
To an Express	4	8	0
To Cash to M ^r Croghon	21	10	0
To D ^o for Flour.....	17	4	0
To D ^o to W ^m Jenkins for a Formal Express ...	0	15	10
To Enlisting of James Bowman Thomas	1	6	3
To D ^o p ^d for Bacon.....	1	2	1 ¹ / ₂
To hire of my Horse to Ward & Saddle & Bridle lost ..	2	10	
To my Expences in Riding to & from W ^m ^s burg after y ^e late Engagement	10	15	
To Expences in comeing down Potomack River for Canoes Menhire & ^c this was undertaken by y ^e particular desire of Col ^o Charles Carter	4	10	6
To an Express from Alex ^a to Winchester.....	1	10	
To Sundry small disburse ^{ms} w ^{ch} I cannot recollect or Acc ^t for having lost all my papers in y ^e Engagement ⁹³ ..			

⁹² Washington's First Account with Virginia, rendered October, 1754. This document gives us much desirable information. The journal of the expedition to the Ohio kept by Colonel Washington as we have it, manipulated as it has been by the French, does not furnish information as to the road the little troop took from Alexandria to Will's Creek. But one place is named in it, viz., Pearsal's, on the south branch of the Potomac. This memoranda of expenditures left us in Washington's handwriting, and preserved in the Department of State, renders it probable that he took the more northerly road from Alexandria through Loudoun County and crossed the Blue Ridge through Vestal's Gap, passing the Shenandoah River at Vestal's Ferry. At this ferry an expense of £1 9s was incurred. Then it is probable the march was to Winchester. The cash paid to Mr. Wood, it is presumed, was to Mr. [James] Wood, of Winchester, for supplies of various kinds, as he was one of the principal business men at and the founder of that town. Thence the march was by Edwards's Fort, on the south branch of the Great Cacapehon Creek, where a slight expense was incurred, thence by Pearsal's and down the south branch to the Potomac, crossing to Cresap's, and thence up the Potomac to Will's Creek.

⁹³ This is a very emphatic statement by Washington that he lost all his papers at the battle of the Great Meadows. It favors the conclusion reached by the editor that the journal of the expedition to the Ohio, which the French got, fell into their hands at the battle of the Great Meadows, and not at the battle of the Monongahela, in 1755, as is usually stated.

[The Country in Acc^t with George Washington]

Cr

May 31	By Cash of Maj ^r Carlyle	23	12	9	
	By D ^o of y ^e Right Hon ^{ble} the L ^d Fairfax	110			
	By D ^o of Cap ^{tn} Stobo w ^{ch} was found in Col ^o } Frys pos ⁿ	45	3		
	By D ^o of Col ^o Muse in p ^t of what he had of } Col ^o Fry.....	4	6		
		183	1	9	
		£	183	1	9

[The Country in Acc^t with George Washington.]

Memorandum in Washington's handwriting.

A Copy of my 1st
acc^t handed to the
Committee October [1754]

£183 — ^{s.} 1 — ^{d.} 9.

D^r The Country to George Washington

July				
29 th	To Cash to an Express for money from Williamsburg	3	13	1
	To Do lost in the co ^t of £600 brought by the 3 ^d Express	1	11	3
	To the payment of the Regiment as p ^r pay Bill	790	13	4
Aug ^t 1	To a pistole bounty Money to 218 Soldiers as pr List	234	7	
1	To 98 Do Capt McKayas per Receipt & pr Order	105	7	
14 th	To Cash to Carson for apprehending two Deserters & Charges per Do as p ^r R.	5	3	6
20	To Do to Capt Mercer for recruiting as p ^r acc ^t	6	14	9
22 ^d	To Do to Lieutenant James Towers as p ^r Do	5	1	8
25	{ To Do to Frances Self his expence and trouble in finding Armes sold by Deserted Soldiers.	2	15	0
	{ To Do to Constable for arresting him	1	1	6
27	To Do to Mr Bullet for Recruiting as p ^r accoumpt	18	13	2
Sep ^t 4 th	To Do to John May for his expences in pursuit of Deserters	0	10	0
	To Do to Charles Smith for Do in pursuit of Deserters	1	5	0

	To Do for Enlisting recruits with expences.	3	18	3
5	To Do p ^d Daniel Cincheloe for Deserter....	2	3	0
6	To Do p ^d Sergeant Trotter for his Expences in p ^g of Dese ^t r.....	0	12	6
	To Do p ^d Charles Callineaux his recruiting Expences.....	0	14	4½
10	To Do Serg ^{nt} Carter for his Expences in following Deserters.....		8	9
	To Do to Cap ^t Hogg as p ^r accoun't for 2 recruits.....	2	12	0
	{ To Do to a Negroe for finding 2 muskets } { supposed to be lost ever since last May }	0	7	6
	To Do for W ^m Scot a new Recruit & Charges	1	11	3
19	To Do to Henry Hardin for b ^g a Deserter as p ^r Recp ^t	2	3	
	{ To Do to Cap ^t Lewis and the Detach- ment under his Command sent to Au- gusta by the Governor's orders — See the pay Bill for that purpose..... }	155	15	6
Oct 2 ^d	{ To Do to Cap ^t Polson in part for his comp ^y pay to y ^e 29 th of Sep ^t p ^r Re- ceipt..... }	20	1	8
	To Do Cap ^{tn} Hogg for p ^r Do — p ^r Receipt.....	14	19	7
	To Do to Cap ^t Mercer for Do — as p ^r Do.	15	5	
	{ To Do to Cap ^t Polson Expences to W ^m - burg as an Express & for Cash w ^{ch} he p ^d a Wounded Soldier..... }	6	9	0
		1411	16	7½
		1420	0	10
	£	8	4	2½

The County to George Washington Cr

By Cash of Maj ^r Carlyle to distribute among the Soldiers of the Virginia Regi- ment & Cap ^t McKay's Independent Company by order of the Committee allow'g each man one pistole.....	320	0	10
By Cash of His Honour y ^e Governor p ^r Express	600	0	0
By Do of Maj ^r Carlyle.....	500	0	0
	1420	0	10

The whole in Washington's handwriting.

Indorsed in Washington's handwriting.

"A copy of my
Regiment — acc^d deli^d
into the committee

October [1754]

£1420 . 0^s .. 10^d

In Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Pay Roll of the Virginia Regiment.⁹⁴

Commencing from the 29th of May and Ending July 29th, 1754.

Of the Commission'd Officers	Sum Paid		
Colonel.	45		
Lieutenant Col ^o George Muse till the 20 th of July....	31	15	
Lieut. Adam Stephen from the 20th July with his other pay as Major & Captain }	31	0	6
Maj ^r Robert Stobo his pay as Captain & Major from the 20th July.	25	6	0
Cap^{ts}			
Peter Hog.....as P Acc ^t & Recept.....	24	8	
Andrew Lewis.....as P . . . ditto	24	8	
Jacob Vanbraam.....	24	8	
George Mercer.....as P}.....ditto	23	12	
Thomas Waggoner.....as P}.....ditto	14		
William Polson.....as P}.....ditto	13	12	
Leiu^{ts}			
John Savage.....as P . . . ditto ⁹⁵	12	4	
James Towers.....as P}.....ditto	12	2	
William Bronaugh.....as P}.....ditto ⁹⁶	9	12	
John Mercer..... as P ditto	9	11	
James Craik..... as P . . . ditto	9	10	
John West.....as P ditto	12	4	
Ensigns			
William Wright from the 20th July ⁹⁷			
Carolus Sprittdolph from 21 st Ditto.....	1	4	
Thomas Bullett from the 22 nd Ditto ⁹⁸	1	1	
* Walter Stuart from the 23 ^d Ditto ⁹⁹			
<small>* mistake in y^e date</small>			
¹⁰⁰ Maj ^r John Carlyle Commissary of Stores &c as P Acc ^t	32	0	6
M ^r Peyrouney (Ensign & Adjutant) from the 3 ^d June P Ditto.....	20	7	
M ^r Craik Surgeon as P Ditto.....	12	4	
Sum p ^d y ^e several Officers.....	389	9	0

[End of first page.]

⁹⁴ This pay-roll of the Virginia Regiment is preserved among the Washington papers in the Department of State at Washington. It has been copied with literal exactness and is given here as of special interest as a part of the history of the campaign of 1754.

⁹⁵ Captain John Savage served with Colonel Washington, in the Expedition of 1754, as Lieutenant, commissioned as such, March 9, of that year. Having behaved well in the battle of Fort Necessity his name is included among the officers thanked by resolution of the House of Burgesses. He was also a recipient of 2,572 acres of land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation. Mr. Savage served likewise in the Braddock Expedition, and was with Colonel Washington, as a Captain, protecting the frontier against incursions of the French and Indians in 1756. He resigned and left the service in January of this year. [See letter of Colonel Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, January 25, 1756.]

⁹⁶ Captain William Bronaugh was a resident, and I believe, a native of Fairfax county, Va. He went out with the armed Expedition to the Ohio, in 1754. He was soon advanced to be an Ensign in Captain Peter Hog's company. Governor Dinwiddie in a letter to Colonel Fry, of March 18, 1754, commends Mr. Bronaugh for an Ensign's commission. He went through the campaign with reputation. He was in the battle of the Great Meadows, and is ranked as an Ensign and mentioned by name in the vote of thanks tendered by the House of Burgesses to the officers who were in that battle. He received 6,000 acres of land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation and continued in the service as a Lieutenant in Captain Peyronie's company in the ill-fated Braddock Expedition. He served with Colonel Washington on the Virginia frontier, in 1756, as a Captain. [See Washington's letter to Captain Bronaugh, December 17, 1756.]

⁹⁷ Lieutenant William Wright had served as an Ensign, commissioned July 20, 1754, and was promoted to a Lieutenantcy, November 18, 1754. Continuing in the service, he was killed in battle at the defeat of Braddock. His heirs received 2,500 acres of land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation. [See Governor Dinwiddie's letter to him, February 12, 1755, giving him instructions while in command of an Indian fort.] His name is given as John Wright, whose heirs received the land awarded in 1771, to the soldiers who served in the Expedition of 1754. [See Washington's letter to Lord Dunmore and Council, November 5, 1772.]

⁹⁸ Captain Thomas Bullet was a native of Prince William county, Va. He was a volunteer in the armed expedition to the Ohio, in 1754, to build forts. His commission as Ensign was dated July 22 of that year, although he had filled the position for some time before. October 30 of the same year he was made Lieutenant. He remained in the service and was with the Virginia regiment in the Braddock Expedition, and, surviving its disaster, continued in the service under Washington, building forts across the State from the Potomac to the Roanoke, for the protection of the inhabitants. He was a vigilant, active and an efficient officer. He was with General Grant in his rash attack upon Fort Duquesne, and acquitted himself with credit in that unnecessary engagement. In May, 1758, he ranked as the Captain or Senior Lieutenant in the Virginia regiment. Washington, in a letter September 25, 1758, says: "Your old acquaintance, Captain Bullet, who is the only officer of mine that came off untouched, has acquired immortal honor in this engagement by his gallant behaviour and long continuance in the field of action." In 1771 Captain Bullet materially assisted Washington as a distributor of the Dinwiddie land gratuities to the soldiers of the campaign

of 1754, being a recipient himself of 6,000 acres. He became quite an explorer of the western country; was appointed a public surveyor in 1760 [see Washington, Feb. 23, 1760], and in 1773 laid off a town covering part of the present site of the city of Louisville, Ky. He was in the battle of the Great Bridge in Virginia, in 1775, as a Lieutenant-Colonel, and was Governor Henry's Adjutant-General of Virginia in 1776, his commission for the latter office bearing date Feb. 22, 1777. He died in the service before the independence of the country was recognized.

⁹⁹ Captain Walter Stuart or Stewart, supposed to be the same who afterward was a General in the Revolution, was born in Ireland. He seems to have served in the Virginia regiment in 1754. A note on the pay-roll to his name says, "Mistake in the date," referring to his appointment as Ensign, which is given as July 23, 1754. The list of commissions, with date of appointment, published in the Dinwiddie Papers, vol. i, p. 319, gives the date of his commission as Ensign as July 25, 1754, and his commission as Lieutenant as August 31, 1754. These commissions are all dated after the battle of the Great Meadows, and, as he is not named among the officers who received land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation, nor in the vote of thanks to those in the battle of the Great Meadows, it is possible he was not then in the service nor was benefited by the Governor's proclamation. He remained in the army, served as Ensign with the Virginia forces in Braddock's Expedition, and was wounded at the battle of the Monongahela. The Assembly voted him a gratuity of £30 for his gallant behavior in this action. He served as Lieutenant under Washington in protecting the western frontier of the State from Indian depredations until the fall of Fort Duquesne, was in the engagement known as Grant's defeat, at Fort Pitt, and there "distinguished himself greatly." [Washington's letter, September 25, 1758.] He was wounded, but escaped. He is supposed to be the officer of this name who served in the 44th Regiment as an additional Lieutenant and was retired on half-pay in 1763. In the Revolution he was Aide-de-Camp to General Gates and Colonel of the 13th Regiment of Pennsylvania, in 1777, and acquitted himself honorably. He was considered the handsomest man in the army. April 11, 1781, he married Deborah, daughter of Blair McClenachan, and resided in Philadelphia. He enjoyed the esteem and friendship of Washington. March 2, 1759, he petitioned the House of Burgesses, setting forth that he had acted as Brigadier-Major of the Virginia Troops from the 7th of June, 1758, until the appointment of Captain Robert Stewart to that office, for which he had not been paid. A resolution of the House the following day allowed him the sum of £27 10s. for that service. Here the name is spelled Stewart. [Journal House of Burgesses, March 24, 1759.]

¹⁰⁰ Major John Carlyle, Commissary of Stores, was a successful merchant in Alexandria, Va. He was a native of Scotland, but began business on the Potomac before 1745. By marriage he was related to the Fairfaxes, having married Sarah, second daughter of the Hon. Wm. Fairfax, of Belvoir. In 1753 he resided in the stone house on Fairfax street, and in 1755 entertained there General Braddock and the Governor of the five provinces. The house is still standing and in good repair. Governor Dinwiddie commissioned him Commissary of Provisions and Stores for the Expedition to the Ohio river, January 27, 1754. [See Dinwiddie Papers, i, 54.] Mr. Carlyle's mercantile and shipping business was conducted under a copartnership with John Dalton. The firm, being well known and esteemed for its honorable dealing, was extensively employed in furnishing outfits and supplies

to the various military expeditions, particularly to Braddock's army, and later to the troops employed in the Indian and the French and Indian wars. When the charter was granted to the town of Alexandria, in 1748, Colonel Carlyle was named as one of the trustees. In 1758, after the death of his father-in-law, Wm. Fairfax, he was appointed to succeed him as Royal Collector of Customs on the Potomac. He and his family were frequent and always welcome visitors at Mount Vernon, and General and Mrs. Washington were often entertained by the Carlyles in Alexandria.

The Commission of Major John Carlyle, Commissary of Provisions and Stores is as follows:

"Robert Dinwiddie, Esq'r, Lieut. Gov'r and Com'd'r in Chief of the Colony and Dom'n of Virginia — to Maj'r John Carlisle:

"By Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given as Com'd'r in Chief of this Colony, I hereby constitute and appoint you, the s'd John Carlisle, Commissary of Provisions and Stores for an Expedition intended to the River Ohio, in this Dom'n and appertaining to the Crown of G. B.

"You are therefore carefully and diligently to provide Provis's of all kinds for s'd Expedition (viz) Bread, Flour, Corn, Pork and Beef, and the same to have carried to Will's Creek, from thence to be carried to the Fort now building on the Waters of the Ohio. And as the Act of Assembly in regard to Invasions provides that in necessity, Boats, Sloops, Waggon, Carts, Horses, &c. may be impressed for expediting the Services required, I therefore, agreeable to s'd Act, give you full Power on Occasion to impress Boats, Sloops, Waggon, Carts, Horses, or any Thing else that is necessary for the safe Conveyance of Provisions or Stores, for the due execution of the Expedition afores'd.

"And I further give you Power and Authority to appoint one or more Deputies to be aiding and Assisting to you in the discharge of the Trust repos'd in you. For such Deputies You must be accountable. And I further hereby require and com'd all Magistrates, Civil and Military, and all others to be aiding and assisting to you in the due discharge of the Duties requisite by this Commission.

"Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Colony at W'msburgh the 26th Day of Jan'y In the 27th Year of His Majestys reign Annoque Dom. 1754."

[From Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 54.]

Of Cap^t Rob^t Stobo's Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum Paid		
			£	s	d
	Thomas Langdon.....	Serjeant	4	11	6
	Robert Tunstall	Ditto	4	11	6
	Nathan Lewis	Corporal	3	1	
	James Carson	Drummer....	3	1	
	Charles Smith	Private Cent ^l ..	2	....	8
	John Jones.....	D ^o	2	....	8
	John Goldson	D ^o	2	....	8

Joseph Gibbs	D ^o	2	...	8
Adam Jones	D ^o	2	...	8
Richard Smith	D ^o	2	...	8
Henry Bailey	D ^o	2	...	8
Benjamin Gause	D ^o	2	...	8
Jacob Going	D ^o	2	...	8
William Stallions	D ^o	2	...	8
John Capshaw	D ^o	2	...	8
Jesse Morris	D ^o	2	...	8
James Welsh	D ^o	2	...	8
Solomon Batson	D ^o	2	...	8
Charles Waddey	D ^o	2	...	8
Henry Neale	D ^o	2	...	8
Robert M ^c Coy	D ^o	2	...	8
John Brown	D ^o	2	...	8
Joseph Casterson	D ^o	2	...	8
Alexander Stewart	D ^o	2	...	8
Patrick Doughy	D ^o	2	...	8
Henry Bowman	D ^o	2	...	8
John Harwood	D ^o	2	...	8
James Milton	D ^o	2	...	8
Carried Over		64	I	

[End of second page.]

Of Cap^t Robert Stobos Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum Paid		
	Brought Over		64	I	
	William Swallow	Private Cent ^l .	£ 2	...	8
	Thomas Ogdon	D ^o	2	...	8
	Michael M ^c Gaugh	D ^o	2	...	8
	Peregrine Williams	D ^o	2	...	8
	Anthony Cannaday	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Carroll	D ^o	2	...	8
	James Good	D ^o	2	...	8
	Sum del ^d Maj ^r Carlyle for pay ^t	of y ^e ab ^e Sol ^r .	78	5	8

[End of third page.]

Of Cap^t Peter Hogs Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum paid		
			£	s	d
	Edmond Waggoner	Serjeant	£ 4	11	6
	Richard Trotter.....	D ^o	4	11	6
	James Thomas.....	Corporal	3	1	
	Nicholas Morgan.....	D ^o	3	1	
	James Samuel.....	Private C ^l	2		8
	Robert Jones	D ^o	2		8
	Joseph Milton	D ^o	2		8
	Benjamin Hamilton.....	D ^o	2		8
	Joseph Scott.....	D ^o	2		8
	Phillip Gatewood	D ^o	2		8
	Matthew Cox.....	D ^o	2		8
	John Martin	D ^o	2		8
	James Hyler.....	D ^o	2		8
	Michael Scully.....	D ^o	2		8
	Matthew Durham.....	D ^o	2		8
	William Johnston.....	D ^o	2		8
	William Coleman.....	D ^o	2		8
	Abner Hayslap	D ^o	2		8
	Thomas Moss	D ^o	2		8
	Joshua Burton.....	D ^o	2		8
	John Ogleby.....	D ^o	2		8
	Southy Hayslap	D ^o	2		8
	Argyle House.....	D ^o	2		8
	Andrew Clark.....	D ^o	2		8
	Charles Joanes.....	D ^o	2		8
	Peter Afflack	D ^o	2		8
	Marshall Pratt.....	D ^o	2		8
	William Dean.....	D ^o	2		8
	Duncan Ferguson	D ^o	2		8
	David Gorman.....	D ^o	2		8
	Carried Over		£ 68	2	4

[End of fourth page.]

Of Cap^t Peter Hogs Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum paid		
	Brought Over	£	68	2	4
	Thomas Chaddock	Private Cent ^l .	2	...	8
	John Ramsay	D ^o	2	...	8
	Andrew Fowler	D ^o	2	...	8
	Robert Elliott	D ^o	2	...	8
	Samuel Hyden	D ^o	2	...	8
	Zachary Smith	D ^o	2	...	8
	Thomas Nap	D ^o	2	...	8
	Bibby Brooks	D ^o	2	...	8
	Thomas Slaughter	D ^o	2	...	8
	Joseph Gatewood	D ^o	2	...	8
	Bryant Page	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Chapman	D ^o	2	...	8
	Matthew Leviston	D ^o	2	...	8
	William Underhill	D ^o	2	...	8
	Edward Goodwin	D ^o	2	...	8
	James Megs	D ^o	2	...	8
	Thomas Harris	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Mears	D ^o	2	...	8
	James Letort	D ^o	2	...	8
	Thomas Cellars	D ^o	2	...	8
	Sum p ^d Cap ^t Hogas p ^r Rec ^d del ^d	y ^e Committee.	108	15	8

[End of fifth page.]

Of Cap^t Andrew Lewis' Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum Paid		
	John M ^c Culiy	Serjeant	£ 4	11	6
	Abraham Mashaw	Drum ^r	3	1	
	Robert Graham	Private Cent ^l .	2	...	8
	Josias Baker	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Marston	D ^o	2	...	8
	Terence Swinney	D ^o	2	...	8
	Thomas Stedman	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Smith	D ^o	2	...	8
	Matthew Jones	D ^o	2	...	8

James Fulham.....	D ^o	2	8
James Titus.....	D ^o	2	8
Nathan Chapman.....	D ^o	2	8
John Biddlecomb.....	D ^o	2	8
Patrick M ^c Pike.....	D ^o	2	8
John Mulholland.....	D ^o	2	8
Cornelius Henley.....	D ^o	2	8
John Triston.....	D ^o	2	8
Thomas Burney.....	D ^o	2	8
Thomas Pearson.....	D ^o	2	8
Michael M ^c Cannon.....	D ^o	2	8
James Ludlow.....	D ^o	2	8
John Feilds.....	D ^o	2	8
John Burk.....	D ^o	2	8
Bartholomew Barnes.....	D ^o	2	8
John Durham.....	D ^o	2	8
John Roe.....	D ^o	2	8
Robert Murpew.....	D ^o	2	8
Sum deliver'd M ^r Savage for pay ^g y ^e ab ^e Comp ^y £		52	9 2

[End of sixth page.]

Of Cap^t Vanbraam's Company.

No.	Names.	Quality	Sum paid		
	John Hamilton.....	Serj ^t Maj ^r ...	£ 4	II	6
	Rodolph Brickner.....	Serjeant.....	4	II	6
	Thomas Carter.....	D ^o	4	II	6
	Nicholas Major.....	Corporal.....	3	I	
	John Allan.....	D ^o	3	I	
	Ezekiel Richardson.....	Drummer....	3	I	
	John Johnston.....	Private Cent ^l .	2	...	8
	William Mitchel.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Stuart.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	John M ^c Gregory.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	William Knowles.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Charles Allbury.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Campble.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Edward King.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	James Black.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Patrick Galloway.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Thompson.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Francis Rogers.....	D ^o	2	...	8

Benjamin Spicer.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Edward Whitehead.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Hugh Paul.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Angus M ^c Donald.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Arthur Howard.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Joseph Powel.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Dempsey Simmonds.....	D ^o	2	...	8
John Potter.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Thomas Donnahough.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Carried Over		£ 65	11	6

[End of seventh page.]

Of Cap^t Vanbraams Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum paid		
	Brought Over	.....	65	11	6
	Michael Franks.....	Private Cent ^l	£ 2	...	8
	Francis Self.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	William Carter.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Richard Bolton.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Robert Bell.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Wile Johnson.....	Corporal.....	3	1	
	John Coin.....	Priv ^t Cent ^l	2	...	8
	William Gerrard.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	George Taylor.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	William Hogan.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	P ^d M ^r Towers for discharg ^e Cap ^t as p ^r Receipt.....	Van Camp ^a	£ 86	18	6

[End of eighth page.]

Of Cap^t George Mercer's Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum Paid		
			£	s	
	Mark Hollis.....	Serjeant.....	4	11	6
	James Tyrroll	Ditto	4	11	6
	Hugh M ^c Coy	Corporal.....	3	1	
	John Boydd	Ditto	3	1	
	Edward Evans.....	Drummer....	3	1	
	James Dailey.....	Private Centl.	2	...	8
	Robert Bennett.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Philip Waters	D ^o	2	..	8
	William Holland.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	David Montgomery.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	William Lowery	D ^o	2	...	8
	Samuel Arsdale.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Nathaniel Barrett.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Ferguson	D ^o	2	...	8
	George Gibbons	D ^o	2	...	8
	Hugh Stone.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Alexander Perry.....	D ^o	2	..	8
	John Farmer.....	D ^o	2	..	8
	Henry Bristow.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Claud Dallow	D ^o	2	...	8
	James Ford	D ^o	2	...	8
	James Cammock.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Clements	D ^o	2	...	8
	John M ^c Quire.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	William Broughton	D ^o	2	...	8
	Thomas Burris	D ^o	2	...	8
	John Gallihour	D ^o	2	...	8
	John May	D ^o	2	...	8
	Richard Pritchard.....	D ^o	2	...	8
	Sum Carr ^d over		67	2	

[End of ninth page.]

Of Cap^t George Mercers Comp^a

No.	Names	Quality	Sum Paid		
	Brought Over	.....	67	2	
	Cristopher Bomgardiner.....	Private Cent ^l .	2	....	8
	Henry Earnest.....	D ^o	2	....	8
	Frederick Rupert.....	D ^o	2	....	8
	Hugh Ratchford	D ^o	1	12	8
	Jasper Moorhead	D ^o	1	3	4
	William Tyan	Enlist'd p ^r	1	13	4
	George Malcomb	Leit. West	1	4	8
	Bryan Conner	D ^o	1	16	8
	Timothy Conway..	D ^o	2	....	8
	Sum del ^d Cap ^t Mercer as p ^r				
	Recep ^t for pay ^t of his Comp ^y	.....£	82	15	4
	D ^o del ^d Lieut ^t Towers as p ^r D ^o				
	for p ^t of Cap ^t Van ^m Com ^y ..		86	18	6
	D ^o del ^d Lieut ^t Savage for pay ^t				
	of Cap ^t Lewis's Comp... ..		52	9	2
	D ^o del ^d Cap ^t Hog as per Rec ^t				
	for pay ^t of his Com ^y		108	15	8
	D ^o del ^d Maj ^r Carlyle for pay ^t of				
	Cap ^t Stobo's Com ^y		78	5	8
	D ^o paid y ^e Several Officers as				
	p ^r Receipts.....		389	9	
	Total	.....	798	13	4

[End of tenth page.]

A Pay Bill of the Detachment sent to Augusta under the Command of Captⁿ Lewis¹⁰¹ commencing from the 29th of July & end^g 29th of Sept^r 1754

No.	Names	Quality	Sums paid		
	Andrew Lewis	Capt ⁿ	24	8	
	John Savage ..	Lieut ^t	12	4	
	William Wright	Ensign			
	John M ^c Kully.....	Serg ^t	4	11	6
	Rob ^t Graham	D ^o	4	11	6
	Thomas Stedman.....	Corpor ^l	3	1	
	Joshua Baker.....	D ^o	2	3	
	David Wilkinson.....	Drum ^r	3	1	
	Abraham Mushaw — now private Cen ^l		3	1	
	John Biddlecomb.....	Private Cent ^l	2	0	8
	Robert Murphey.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Bartholamey Burns	D ^o	2	0	8
	James Fulham.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	John Thurstan.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Thomas Burney.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	John Maston.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Terrence Swiney.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	John Smith.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Patrick Smith.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	John Mulholland.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	James Cammock ..	D ^o	2	0	8
	Patrick M ^c Pike.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Michael M ^c Cannon.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Matthew Jones	D ^o	2	0	8
	Thomas Pierce.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Charles Waddey.....	D ^o	2	0	8
	Ja ^s Smith, for his pres ^t & last 2 M ^{ths} Pay & a Pistole Bounty Money...	D ^o	5	2	10
			96	15	6

[End of eleventh page.]

¹⁰¹ This roll preserves the names of the detachment from the Virginia Regiment, under Colonel Washington, sent by direction of Governor Dinwiddie to Augusta county, Va., under the immediate command of Captain Andrew Lewis. [See Governor Dinwiddie's letter to Colonel Washington, September 10, 1754, and letter, September 11, 1754, to Captain Lewis, as instructions. Dinwiddie's Papers, vol. i, p. 313-317.]

Of the Detachment under Captⁿ Lewis.¹⁰²

Names	Quality	Sum paid		
		96	15	6
Sum brought forward		96	15	6
William Stallions.....	Priv ^l Cent....	2	0	8
Henry Bowman.....	D ^o	2	0	8
James Milton.....	D ^o	2	0	8
Jacob Gowen.....	D ^o	2	0	8
Henry Bailey.....	D ^o	2	0	8
John Brown.....	D ^o	2	0	8
Henry Neale.....	D ^o	2	0	8
Benjamin Gauze.....	D ^o	2	0	8
John Hart.....	D ^o	1	4	8
George Gibbons.....	D ^o	2	0	8
William Holland.....	D ^o	2	0	8
Thomas Burras.....	D ^o	2	0	8
Samuel Arsdale.....	D ^o	2	0	8
George Malcom.....	D ^o	2	0	8
Philemon Waters.....	D ^o	2	...	8
John Gallihon.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Casper Moreau.....	D ^o	2	...	8
John Chapman.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Samuel Hyden.....	D ^o	2	...	8
William Dean.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Nicholas Morgan.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Barnaby Ryley.....	D ^o	1	2	0
Nath ^l Deadman.....	D ^o		16	
Andrew Fowler.....	D ^o	2	...	8
John Allan, till this a Corp ^l	D ^o	3	1	
Thomas King, discharg'd.....	D ^o	1		
William Chaplain.....	D ^o		5	4
John Davis.....	D ^o		16	
John Campbell.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Francis Rogers.....	D ^o	2	...	8
Pledge Ward, for y ^e last 2 M ^o pay dis ^d	D ^o	2	...	8
James Ford.....	D ^o	1	19	4
		155	15	6

[End of twelfth page.]

¹⁰ These original pay rolls are in Department of State, Washington, D. C.

The following list of officers, with the dates of their commissions, is itself without date, but was probably forwarded to Colonel Washington in September, as it carries a date of August 31 to one of the promotions. All these officers were in the battle of the Great Meadows, and the promotions were probably in the nature of rewards for their gallantry in that engagement.

Commissions sent Colonel Washington for the officers of his regiment [September, 1754].

Adam Stephen, Lieutenant-Colonel, July 20.

Robert Stobo, Major, July 20.

Peter Hogg, Captain, Mar. 9.

Andrew Lewis, Captain, Mar. 18.

Geo. Mercer, Captain, June 4.

Tho^s. Wagener, Captain, July 20.

W^m. Polson, Captain, July 21.

W^m. Peyronney, Captain, August 25.

John Savage, Lieutenant, Mar. 9.

James Towers, Lieutenant, June 9.

W^m. Bronaugh, Lieutenant, July 20.

John Mercer, Lieutenant, July 21.

James Craik, Lieutenant, July 23 [acting surgeon].

William Wright, Ensign, July 20; Lieutenant, Octob. 28.

Carolus Gustavus de Spildolph, Ensign, July 21;
Lieutenant, October 29.

Thomas Bullett, Ensign, July 22; Lieutenant,
Oct. 30.

Walter Stewart, Ensign, July 22; Lieutenant,
August 31.

[*Dinwiddie Papers, vol. 1, p. 320.*]

A List of Captain Stobo's Company who have re-
ceived His Excellency's bounty money.¹⁰²

Henry Bailey,	Adam Jones,
Solomon Batson,	John Jones,
Henry Bowman,	Anthony Kennedy,
John Brown,	Thomas Langden,
John Carrol,	Serjeant,
James Carson, Drummer,	Nathan Lewis, Corporal,
Joseph Casterton,	Michael McGroth,
Patrick Duphy,	Robert McKay,
Nicholas Foster,	James Milton,
Benjamin Gause,	Jessy Morris,
Joseph Gibbs,	Richard Morris,
Jacob Going,	Henry Neil,
John Golson,	Thomas Ogden,
James Good,	Charles Smith,
Edward Graves,	Richard Smith,
John Harwood,	William Stallions,

Alexander Stewart, James Welch,
William Swallow, Peregrine Williams.
Robert Tunstall,
 Serjeant,
Charles Waddey,

¹⁰² The House of Burgesses granted one Pistole to every private in the engagement at the Great Meadows. The document from which this List is copied is preserved among the "Force Manuscripts" in the Library of Congress, and has written on the back of all five of the rolls the above indorsement in the handwriting of Washington.

A list of Captain Hogg's Company who have received His Excellency's bounty money.

Bibby Brooks,	James Ford,
Joshua Burton,	Andrew Fowler,
Thomas Chaddock,	Joseph Gatewood,
John Chapman,	Philip Gatewood,
Andrew Clark,	Edward Goodwin,
William Coleman,	David Gorman,
Mathew Cox,	Benjamin Hamilton,
William Dean,	Abner Haslip,
Mathew Durham,	Southy Haslip,
Robert Elliot,	James Hyler,
Peter Essleet,	William Hogan,
Duncan Ferguson,	Angoile House,

Samuel Hyden,	John Ogilby,
Charles Joames,	Bryon Page,
William Johnston,	Marshall Pratt,
Robert Jones,	John Ramsay,
James Letort,	John Roe,
Mathew Levison,	James Samuel,
McGuire,	Joseph Scott,
John Martin,	Michael Scully,
John Mears,	Dudley Skinner,
James Meggs,	Thomas Slaughter,
Joseph Milton,	Zach Smith,
Dominick Moran,	James Thomas,
Nicholas Morgan,	Richard Trotter, Serjeant,
Thomas Moss,	William Underhill,
Thomas Napp,	Edmund Waggoner,
	Serjeant.

A List of Captain Lewis' Company who have received His Excellency's bounty money.

Josias Baker, Corporal.	Edward Cahill,
Joseph Baxter,	William Cairns,
John Biddlecom,	James Cammack,
Daniel Billot,	Nath Chapman,
John Burk,	Patrick Coyl,
Bartholomew Burnes,	John Durham,
Thomas Burney,	John Featon,

James Ferguson,	John Poor,
John Field,	William Poor,
James Fullham,	James Price,
Robert Grimes, Serjeant.	John Rowe,
Cornelius Handly,	John Smith,
William Harbinson,	John Smith,
Mathew Jones,	George Swiney,
James Ludlow,	Terence Swiney,
Michael McCannon,	James Titus,
John McCully, Serjeant.	Elijha Ward,
Patrick McPike,	Arthur Watts,
John Maston,	Thomas Wedman,
John Moulholand,	Corporal.
Robert Murphy,	John Whitman,
Abraham Mushaw,	Daniel Wilkinson.

A List of Captain Van Braam's Company who have received His Excellency's bounty money.

John Alan, Corporal,	John Campbell,
Charles Allbury,	Thomas Carter, Serjeant,
Robert Bell,	William Carter,
James Black,	Mathew Chape,
Richard Bolton,	John Coin,
Godfrey Bomgardener,	Thomas Donahough,
Rudolph Brickner,	Bernard Draxter,
Christopher Byerly,	Michael Franks,

Patrick Gallaway,	George Markam,
William Gerrard,	Edward Minor,
George Gobell,	William Mitchell,
John Hamilton,	Hugh Paul,
Serjeant-Major,	John Potter,
Thomas Hennesey,	Joseph Powell,
Arthur Howard,	Ezechel Richardson,
John Johnston,	Francis Rogers,
Wile Johnston,	Francis Self,
Edward King,	Dernsey Simons,
William Knowles,	Benjamin Spicer,
John Lee,	John Steuart,
Angus McDonald,	George Taylor,
John Mackgrigory,	John Thornton,
Nicholas Major,	Edward Whitehead.

A List of Captain Mercer's Company who have received His Excellency's bounty money.

Samuel Arsdale,	Thomas Burk,
Nath Barret,	Thomas Burris,
Robert Bennett,	John Clements,
John Bishop,	Timothy Conway,
Charles Bombgardner,	James Daily,
John Boyd,	Claud Dallowe,
Henry Bristowe,	Henry Earnest,
Wm. Broughton,	Edward Evans,

John Farmer,	John Maid,
John Ferguson,	John May,
James Ford,	David Montgomeries,
John Gallahour,	Jacob Myer,
Christopher Haltzley,	Alexander Perry,
William Holland,	Richard Pritchard,
Mark Hollis, Serjeant,	Frederick Rupart,
Adam Leonard,	Mathew Stanard,
William Lowrey,	Hugh Stone,
William McIntire,	James Tyrrall, Serjeant,
Hugh McKoy,	Michael Walker,
John McQuire,	Philip Walters.

On the 19th of February, 1754, to encourage the prompt enlistment of a sufficient force to build and hold a fort at the head of the Ohio, now Pittsburg, Robert Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, promised, "by and with the advice and consent of His Majesty's council of this Colony, that over and above their pay (the legal pay of the soldiers of the Province of Virginia) two hundred thousand acres of His Majesty the King of Great Britain's lands on the east side of the river Ohio, within this dominion (one hundred thousand acres whereof to be contiguous to the said fort, and the other one hundred thousand acres to be on or near the river Ohio), shall be laid off and granted to such persons who, by their

voluntary engagement and good behavior in the said service, shall deserve the same." Although the benefaction was in good faith and duly legalized, it came near failing in its purpose for want of money and the legislation essential to allot equitably the quantity of land to which each was entitled and to survey and locate the same.

It was almost entirely due to the intelligent address and enterprise of Colonel George Washington that the bounty lands, granted by the proclamation of the Governor of Virginia to the soldiers who enlisted and served in the campaign of 1754 to build forts at the forks of the Ohio River, was secured to those who had earned them. In 1770 Washington went in person, and at his own expense, to view the country and locate lands on the Ohio River for himself and associates under this grant. In the spring of 1771 he sent out Captain William Crawford to survey these lands, bearing, for the time being, the whole expense preparatory to having them patented under the Governor's proclamation of 1754. The grant of 200,000 acres was portioned out among the officers and men on the basis of the pay of those who actually served in the expedition. The number of persons to be benefited and the expense attending surveys at that period, rendered

separate surveys for each claimant out of the question, so that to secure any of the benefits intended by the grant, it was necessary to take up the land in the first instance in large tracts and embrace in one and the same patent a number of names as joint owners. Dinwiddie's proclamation granted "to every person having the rank of a field officer, 5,000 acres; to every Captain, 3,000 acres; to every subaltern or staff officer, 2,000 acres; to every non-commissioned officer, 200 acres, and to every private, 50 acres.

The following is a record relating to the patenting and surveying of the two hundred thousand acres of land granted by Gov. Dinwiddie to the officers and soldiers who served in the Virginia expedition to the Ohio in 1754. The account is copied with literal exactness from Ledger A and Ledger B of the private accounts of Gen. George Washington, preserved in the Department of State at Washington.

The account is on left hand page of Ledger.

	The Officers & Soldiers concerned in the } Grant of 200,000 Acr ^s of Land..... }	Dr		
1769	{ To Fee given Mr Walthoe Clerk of the } { Council for entering y ^e Grant Dec 15 th 1759 }	5-	5-	0
1770	{ To Mess ^{rs} Purdie & Dixon their Adver- } { tisement for the Claims to be brought in. . . }	-	14-	0
June 23	To Will ^m Rind inserting y ^e above 22 weeks. . .	2-	7-	0
October	{ To Publishing in both Gazettes notice of the } { meeting at Fred'g in August..... }	-	14-	0
&	{ To Expenses attending my trip to the Great } { Kanhawa from Captain Crawfords & backe } { to that place again exclusive of y ^e other Exp's } { of my journey amounting to as much more viz			
Nov				

	To the Smith at Fort Pitt } fixing our Canoe &c.....	£1- 7- 6			
	To James Milligan a Lock } for Do.....	- 4- 0			
	To the Commissary for } Provisions.....	£10-19 2			
	John Street assisting in } bringing our Horses to y ^e } Mingo Town.....	9- 0			
	To paid the Indians per } Alex ^r McKees Acct.....	£ 5- 8- 0			
	John Harts.....	4-10- 0			
	Dev ^r Smith.....	15	10-13-0		
	To the Ind ⁿ Interpreter.....		5- 8-0		
	To Sam ^l Samples Tavern } Acct for our own & Horses } Exp ^s at Fort Pitt whilst we } were unavoidably detained } there on our way out & in } —it being part of his Acct } of £26-1-10.....	£19-14- 5			
	To the Widow Miers Acct } of Expe ^s	1-19- 6			
		£50-14- 7			
	deduct 25 pr Ct.....	10- 2-11	40	11	8
Nov 25	To cash paid Capt ⁿ Crawford for his trouble— } The Expense of his H ^o & loss of time in ac- } companying me to the Great Kanhawa.....		25-	0-	0
1771	{ To advertising the Meet ^s at Winchester in } Feb ^r } both Gazettes—3 weeks each.....			14	00
Mar 1	To Ball ⁿ due from G. W. — & Cred ^a per } Contra.....		13	11	10
			£88	12	6
	Contra Cr				
1770	By Doct ^r Craik — towards surveying.....	6	0	0	
Aug ^t 2	By Capt ⁿ Hog Do Do.....	9	0	0	
" 4	By Mr James Mercer for his Bro ^r George Do..	12	0	0	
" 6	By Colo Muse towards surveying.....	15	0	0	
	By George Washington Do Do.....	15	0	0	
	By Ditto advanced for Mr Jno West.....	6	0	0	
Oct 9 th	By Lieut Jno Savage for his advance.....	6	0	0	
16	By Colo Stephen in part for his.....	4	12	6	
1771	By Mr Henry Fry Acct of his Father Colo Fry } deceased — his proportion of the advance....	15	0	0	
			£88	12	6

1771	The Officers and Soldiers concerned in } Dr			
Mar 11	Grant of 200,000 acres of Land			
	To cash sent Capt ⁿ W ^m Crawford per Marcus Stephenson's Receipt for £65-1 Penn Money equal to	52	0	0
Oct 21	To cash paid Capt ⁿ William Crawford per receipt	41	14	4
1772				
Jay 1	To Ball ^e carried to Ledger B. fol ^o 40.	10	10	0
	Contra Cr	£104	4	4
1771	By Ball ^e per Contra & as rendered at the Meeting at Winchester Mar 6 1771.	13	11	10
Mar 6	By Cash of Andrew Wagener on Acct of surveying the above Lands	6	0	0
Do Do	By Ditto from Doctor Craik 2 nd advance.	4	10	0
1771	Carr ^d to folio 334.	£24	1	10
Mar 6	By amount brought from folio 322.			
Do	By Cash from Capt ⁿ Hog — His 2 nd advance towards the Expense of Surveying.	6	15	0
Ditto	{ By Colo Stephen in full for his 1 st & 2 nd	11	2	6
	{ By Mr James Mercer for his Brother Colo Mercer's quota — two shares.	9	0	0
Ditto	{ By Ditto on account of Ditto for 2 Soldiers to wit John Hamilton & Mark Hollis 21/ each	2	2	0
Do	{ By Mr McGuire on Acct of James Cammack's Proportion of the above Expense			
8	{ By Magnus Tate — for David Gormans and Patrick Gallaway's proportion of Do	2	2	0
11	By Isaac Larew — for Nathan Barrett	1	1	0
	By Geo Washington's quota.	11	5	0
	By Col ^o Muse's Ditto.	11	5	0
May 7	{ By Jno Gholson } their quotas	1	1	0
	{ By Rich ^d Morris }	1	1	0
	By Rich ^d Smith do	1	1	0
	By John West, 2 nd Advance pr Go Washington.	4	10	0
	By Cash from Colo Andrew Lewis per Capt ⁿ Hog for 1 st & 2 nd Advance	15	15	0
July 27	By John Creagh	1	1	0
	£104	4	4	
1772	The grant of 200,000 acres of land Dr			
Nov	To Cash paid Mr John Blair Clerk of the Council for Copies of Sev ^l orders of Council & other Services in this Land	5	0	0
7	{ To Ditto paid Captain W ^m Crawford for Ball ^e of an Acct Exhibited this day	31	15	0
	To Ditto paid Mr Everard, for Fees due to the Govern ^t & Secretary on 13 surveys returned to the office to be Patented	20	16	0
Dec 4	{ To Ditto sent Ditto extra Fees to hasten the Patenting of the Surveys	5	0	0

Mar 6	{ To Cash given Ditto for hastening the Patenting—according to promise }	5	0	0
	To Cash paid Capt ⁿ Crawfords Order in favor of John Hite }	100	0	0
July	To Capt ⁿ Crawford's Order in favor of Mr Hugh Stephenson }	25	0	0
Nov 22	{ To Cash paid for the Gov ^{rs} and Secretary's Fees on the last 5 Patents }	8	0	0
Dec 2	{ To Ditto paid Mr Everard to hasten the Patents }	3	0	0
	To advertising the last Distribution of the Land for Mr Rind }			4
1774	{ To your Assumpset in favor of Mr. Hugh Stephenson omitted in December last . . }	20	0	0
Febry 26	To cash paid you }	13	15	6
1772	Contra Cr			
Jany 1	By Ball ^e brought from Ledger A }	10	10	0
May 18	{ By Mr Jno Barnes for Lient James Tower's proportion of y ^e two advances }	10	10	0
Nov 18	{ By Mr Alex Craik for Lieut Jno Polson proportion of the two advances }	10	10	0
	By cash recvd from Col ^o Andrew Lewis viz for his proportion of y ^e contingent Acct }	£4	9	7
	Exhibited at y ^e meeting in Fredrkg for his proprt ⁿ of the Expense of Surveying and for Jno Smith a Soldrs part }	12	1	8
Do	By Cash recvd from Doct James Craike for his proportion of y ^e Contingent Acct }	1	1	0
	And for the Survey of his tracts }	11	13	3
March 13	By Cash received from Mr Alex Craike on Acct of Mr Polson }	11	0	10
Apr 19	By Cash recveid from Col Adam Stephen per Mr Donaldson }	16	11	3
	By Ditto recd from Capt ⁿ Hog per Do }	16	11	3
21	By Ditto recveid from Mr Jno West }	5	0	0
June	{ By Ditto recveid of the Rev Mr Thruston per Mr Norton }	12	1	9
October 18	By Cash recveid of Mr John Baynes on account of Lt James Tower's Claim }	10	15	0
	By my quota of the Contingent acct per the Resolutions at Fredericksburgh Nov 1772 . . }	7	9	4
	By Colo Muse's Do Do }	7	9	4
	By Geo Washington for surveying the following Tracts of Land viz 10,990 acres—4,395 D ^o 2,448 D ^o & 2,314 D ^o }	28	10	3
	By Ditto for Capt ⁿ Bronaugh's two first advances viz £6. & £4. 10 }	10	10	0
	By Ditto for Capt ⁿ Bronaugh—dividend of the Contingent acct per resolution at Fred'g }	2	19	9
	By the Cost of Surveying Muse's Land in the first distribution viz. 9,073 acres in the large tract of 51,302 acres and the small tract of 927 a ^{rs} }	14	5	0

	By Geo Washington on Acct of Mr John West	}	2	5	0
	freight of 9 hds Molasses a 5/.....				
1774	{ By cash of Mr Jno Baynes on Acct Jas	}	5	12	2
Feb 19	{ Towers				
" 25	By Ditto recd per Doctor Craike.	}	8	3	4
May 17	By Ditto Recd frm Colo Andr Lewis.....				
June 14	By Ditto of Mr Chas Yates on Acct of Wm	}	10	9	9
	Wright deceased his share of y ^e Expens ^s of				
	Surveying y ^e 200,000 acres of Land.....	}	11	5	7

They were to hold according to their several claims and to divide or dispose of as they might choose. The claim of the soldier who served in this campaign was recognized as valid to an amount of land determined by his rank, which in many instances was sold by the soldier before the land was located. Washington purchased many of the claims and held large tracts of very fertile lands at different points on the Ohio. Although he advanced the money to make the surveys, he was in a great measure reimbursed by a pro rata pooling of the outlay by those most benefited. I had hoped to find a complete list of the recipients of this bounty, but I have only partly succeeded. It is not improbable, however, that a full list of all who received land under this grant might, with patience, be compiled by an exhaustive examination of the records of the Land Office at Richmond.

The following list of recognized claimants with the pro rata of cost to each in securing the land is preserved in Washington's handwriting. The document is without date.

A List of Balances due from Sundrys on Acct of their Claims to
Land under the Proclamation of 1754. ^{$\frac{1}{m}$}

1. The Estate of Col ^o Joseph Fry	£54.	11.	4.
2. Col ^o Adam Stephen ^{p^d}	11.	6.	1.
3. Col ^o George Muse	paid		
4. The Estate of Capt ⁿ Robert Stobo	40.	6.	7.
5. Col ^o Andrew Lewis ^{paid}	12.	9.	9.
6. Captain Peter Hog ^{C. Craw^d}	11.	6.	$\frac{1}{2}$
7. Captain Jacob Vanbraam	40.	6.	7
8. Col ^o George Mercier ^{paid by Mr Ja^s Mercer.}	40.	11.	11
9. Mr Andrew Waggoner ^{C. Craw^d}	9.	5.	3
10. Mr John West ^{C. Craw^d}	11.	9.	2
11. The Estate or Heir of Will ^m Polson { ^{CC}	5.	14.	10
12. Lieu ^t John Savage ^{C. Craw^d}	20.	18.	2
13. Captain William Bronaugh	paid		
14. Doctor James Craik ^{C. Craw^d}	8.	3.	1
15. John Baynes for James Towers heirs ^{CC}	5.	12.	2
16. The Heir of William Wright ^{paid}	11.	4.	7
17. Captain Thomas Bullet	11.	4.	7
18. Robert Longdon ^{CC}	2.	13.	9
19. Robert Tunstall ^{CC}	1.	12.	9
20. Andrew Waggener ^{CC}	2.	13.	9
21. Richard Trotter ^{CC}	2.	13.	9
22. John David Wilpper	2.	13.	9
23. Wire Johnson ^{CC}	2.	4.	8
24. Hugh McRoy ^{CC}	2.	4.	8
25. Richard Smith ^{CC}	1.	3.	8
26. Charles Smith ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
27. Angus McDonald ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
28. Nathan Chapman ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
29. Joseph Gatewood ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
30. James Samuel ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
31. Michael Seally ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
32. Edward Goodwin ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
33. William Baily ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
34. Henry Baily ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
35. William Costland ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
36. Mathew Doran ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
37. John Ramsay ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
38. Charles James ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
39. Mathew Cox ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
40. Marshall Pratt ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
41. John Wilson ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
42. William Johnston ^{CC}	1.	15.	10
43. John Wilson ^{CC}	1.	15.	10

44. Nathaniel Barrett.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
45. David Gorman.....	CC....	..	14.	10
46. Patrick Galloway.....	CC....	..	14.	10
47. Timothy Conway.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
48. Christian Bombgardner.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
49. John Maid.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
50. John Howstown	CC....	1.	15.	10
51. James Ford.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
52. William Broughton.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
53. William Carnes.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
54. Edward Evans.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
55. Thomas Moss.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
56. Mathew Jones.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
57. Philip Gatewood.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
58. Hugh Paul.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
59. Daniel Staples.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
60. William Lowry.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
61. James Ludlow.....	CC....	1.		
62. James Lafort.....	CC....	1.		
63. James Gwin.....	CC....	1.	15.	
64. Joshua Jordan.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
65. William Jenkins.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
66. James Commach.....	CC....	..	14.	10
67. Richard Morris.....	CC....	..	14.	10
68. John Gelson.....	CC....	..	14.	10
69. Robert Jones.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
70. William Hoggan.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
71. John Franklin.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
72. John Bishop.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
73. George Malcomb.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
74. William Coleman.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
75. Richard Bolton.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
76. John Smith.....		1.	15.	10
77. George Hurst.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
78. John Cincaid.....	CC....	1.	15.	10
79. Andrew Fowler.....		1.	15.	10
80. Thomas Napp.....		1.	15.	10
81. The Representative of Arthur Watts.....		1.	15.	10
82. John Fox Assignee of Jesse May.....		1.	15.	10
83. Francis Self.....		1.	15.	10
84. Robert Stewart.....		1.	15.	10
85. Robert Murphy.....		1.	15.	10
86. Alexander Bonny.....		1.	15.	10
87. The Representative of W ^m Horne.....		1.	15.	10
88. William M ^c Anulty.....		1.	15.	10

Mutilated

Among Washington's letters there are quite a number relating to the subject of these bounty lands.

In one to Governor Dinwiddie, dated November 5, 1772, he says: "The whole quantity of 200,000 acres of land granted by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie's proclamation of the 19th of February, 1756, has been fully obtained."

Although the surveys were returned, some of the patents were not issued until 1773, and others possibly later.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ The following advertisement appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* of Feb. 17, 1775:

"It is now become indispensably necessary that the claimants in the patent to Mr. *John Savage* and others who were with Colonel *Washington* at the battle of the *Meadows*, for 28,627 acres of land on the river *Ohio* and the *Sandy Creeks*, should come to a speedy division of the said lands: They and every of them, or their representatives, are therefore desired to attend at the confluence of the *Great Kanhawa*, on *Monday* the 8th day of *May* next, in order to proceed to a division. It will also be expected that the costs attending the original survey, be by each claimant then paid

van Swerengen
R Rutherford
Isaa Larew
James M^cCormack"

The following from the public press of the county also bears upon this subject

Prince William, April 12th, 1775

As the time approaches when the lands patented under the Proclamation of Governor *Didwiddie* must

be improved or forfeited, I request the favour of the proprietors of the tract lying on the *Pokotellico* creek, and the *Kenawah* river themselves or by their agents to meet upon the premises, to divide, on *Monday* the 12th of next June. The necessity of this measure is obvious; but lest it may appear extraordinary to any of the proprietors, that a single person should undertake to appoint the time, I must inform them that I have heretofore written, to each seperately to the above purport. Should the proprietors fail to attend at the time, or to send some one to act for them, I hope they will think it reasonable I should take possession of the quantity I am entitled to, by purchase under Major Bullit and Lieutenant Woelper, and proceed to improve it accordingly

Cuthbert Bullett

[*From the Virginia Gazette May 12th, 1775.*]

The above account kept by Colonel George Washington with those entitled to the bounty land and co-operating to the end of having it surveyed and patented, it is believed will prove of interest, and is given in his own language, showing the amounts contributed to the expense of the survey by each.

The recital of the patent or deed is, in nearly every case, in the following language :

George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Know ye that for Divers good Causes &

Considerations, but more especially for the consideration mentioned in a proclamation of Robert Dinwiddie, Esqr., late Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia, bearing date the nineteenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, for encouraging men to enlist in the service of our late Royal Grand Father for the Defense and Security of the said Colony, we have given, granted and confirmed, and by these presents for our heirs and successors do give and confirm unto

The following list is collected from the land patents recorded in the Land Office in Richmond, Va. It is probable that a thorough search there might discover the names of others.

Henry Baily,	Nathan Chapman,
William Bailey,	William Coleman,
Nathaniel Barrett,	James Commack,
John Bishop,	Timothy Conway,
Richard Bolton,	William Copeland,
Christian Bomgardner,	Matthew Cox,
Alexander Bonney,	James Craik,
William Bronaugh,	Matthew Doran,
William Broughton,	Edward Evans,
Thomas Bullett,	James Ford,
William Carnes,	Andrew Fowler,

John Fox's heirs to Arthur Watts,	James La Tort,
John Franklin,	Andrew Lewis,
Joshua Fry's heirs to John Fry,	William Lowrey,
Patrick Galloway,	James Ludlow,
Joseph Gatewood,	William M ^c Anulty,
Philip Gatewood,	Angus M ^c Donald,
John Gholston,	Hugh M ^c Koy,
James Giben,	John Maid,
Edward Goodwin,	George Malcomb,
David Gordan,	Daniel Maples,
William Hogan,	George Mercer,
Peter Hogg,	Richard Morris,
May Horn,	Thomas Moss,
John Houston,	Robert Murphy,
George Hurst,	George Muse,
Charles James,	Thomas Napp,
William Jenkins,	Hugh Paul,
William Johnson,	John Polson,
Wire Johnson,	Marshall Pratt,
Matthew Jones,	John Ramsay,
Robert Jones,	James Samuel,
Joshua Jordan,	John Savage,
John Kincade,	Michael Scully,
Robert Langdon,	Francis Self,
	Charles Smith,
	John Smith,

Richard Smith,	Jacob Van Braam,
Adam Stephen,	Andrew Wagener,
Robert Stewart,	Edmund Wagener,
Robert Stobo's represen-	George Washington,
tative, David Richard-	John West, Jr.,
son.	John David Welper,
Richard Trotter,	John Wilson,
Robert Tunstall,	John Wright's heirs.
James Tower's heirs to	
John Baynes,	

An alphabetical list follows of the recipients of land and the amount awarded to each at the second and last distribution under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation, granting 200,000 acres of land on the Ohio River to the officers and soldiers who served in the expedition to the Ohio, to build forts, in 1754.

A letter from Colonel Washington in the form of suggestions, and as a final report to Governor Dinwiddie on the subject of the distribution of the bounty lands, bearing date November 5, 1772, is the basis of this list. [*See Payton's History of Augusta County, Va., p. 169.*]

Alex ^r . Bonny, acres.....	400
W ^m . Bronaugh, in full.....	6,000
Thomas Bullett, in full.....	6,000
D ^r . James Craik.....	1,794
James Forest's heirs.....	6,000

Col ^o . Joshua Fry's heirs, acres	7, 242
Andrew Fowler	400
Peter Hog	2, 100
W ^m . Horn, dec.	400
Andrew Lewis	2, 100
Wm. M ^c Anulty	400
Jesse May, assignee to M. Fox	400
Col ^o . Mercer	2, 816
Robert Murphy	400
George Muse	3, 323
Thomas Napp	400
John Savage	2, 572
Francis Self	400
Adam Stephen	2, 100
Jn ^o . Smith	400
Capt. Robert Stobo's heirs	9, 000
Robert Stewart	400
James Towner, dec	6,000
Andrew Wagener	2, 572
Geo. Washington	453
“ “	3, 500
Arthur Watts, dec	400
John David Welper	600
John West	1, 400
John Wright's heir	2, 500
Capt. Jacob Van Braam	9, 000

VIRGINIA PENSIONERS OF 1754.

The following is a partial list of military pensioners who had served in the armed expedition to the Ohio under the command of Colonel George Washington in 1754, and who, from disabilities caused by wounds and diseases, subsequently petitioned the House of Burgesses for relief, which was granted them. Their names are culled from the journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

- Thomas Anderson — not wounded, was allowed back pay.
 Robert Bell — wounded, was paid 50 shillings.
 Tudor Davis — not wounded, was awarded back pay.
 Matthew Doran — shot through both thighs, paid £7 10s.
 John Durham — wounded, allowed £5.
 Joseph Gillam — not wounded, allowed back pay.
 James Good — wounded in the thigh, £10.
 Edward Goodwin — wounded severely, allowed £5 and £5 annually.
 David Gorman — not wounded, back pay.
 James Haiter — wounded, allowed £15 with back pay.
 John Hamilton — wounded, allowed £20 with back pay.
 Argall House — lost a leg, allowed £5 and £5 annually.
 William Lansdown — not wounded, allowed back pay.
 Michael M^cCannon — wounded, allowed £10 as a recompense.
 Michael M^cGraff — wounded, allowed £10 as a recompense.
 John Ogleby — wounded, paid £5 in full as recompense.
 John Potter — wounded, allowed £5 and £5 annually.
 Joseph Powell — wounded, allowed £6 as a recompense.
 Richard Richbell — wounded, allowed £5 10s.
 Robert Stobo — a hostage with the French, allowed £1,000.
 Jacob Van Braam — a hostage with the French, allowed £500.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

While it may not be claimed that the data here assembled are all new, or give as satisfactory a his-

tory of Governor Dinwiddie's armed expedition to the Ohio in 1754 as could be desired, it is nevertheless hoped that the facts and averments presented may, at least, prove serviceable to other and more capable students of this very interesting event in American history.

Whether this movement be viewed in the light of a purely provincial enterprise, or as a military exploit of a diplomatic and strategic character on the part of Great Britain, it must always possess special historic importance. It introduced George Washington to the people of Virginia in a most favorable manner, awakened among them a pride of country and an honorable military ambition to equal the best troops, and pointed the way to a practicable union of the colonies for defense against a foreign foe and for a possible independence. Hence although the particular purpose of the expedition failed, it was from no want of soldierly traits, but on the contrary, the provincial troops evinced the highest courage and endurance, and their performances exhibited to a marked extent the genius and fortitude of the young lieutenant-colonel.

The fate of the expedition was sealed by the tardiness of the Governor and by Colonel Fry, the commander, not forwarding reinforcements and supplies

with sufficient promptness to sustain Washington in his advanced position, thereby subjecting him and his heroic band to the necessity of giving battle to a superior force. They accepted the alternative, however, and fought with a courage that deserved a better result, but which merited and received the unanimous thanks of the Assembly of Virginia for their bravery and their gallant defense of their country.

Some incidents connected with the conduct of the campaign brought Colonel Washington's name and his ability for military command in emergencies, under severe critical review. The discussion of the conduct of the expedition and the management of the troops brought out the main facts as to the actual force in the field, their equipments, supplies, &c., and fully demonstrated the young officer's activity, discretion and capacity for using to the best advantage the forces under his command, and also his genius and courage in defending himself when attacked by a superior force, as perhaps nothing in his after life, when his great military ability was fully established, equalled or surpassed.

His skirmish with an advanced reconnoitering party of French under de Jumonville, their captain, and the death of this leader was much commented

upon, and the facts in the case greatly perverted by the French for political effect. The terms of the capitulation, after the battle of the Great Meadows, agreed to between the French commander, Monsieur de Villiers, and Colonel Washington and Captain Mackaye on the part of Virginia, which was written in French, but of which no copy in English had been made at the time of signing, when translated and published, caused unfavorable comments, in consequence of certain expressions derogatory to the English. Washington and his officers in this were misled, having relied upon the oral translation of Captain Jacob van Braam, a German having but an imperfect knowledge of either the French or English language, and who, through inadvertence or ignorance, rendered the word *assassination* of de Jumonville, *death* of de Jumonville. This with a few other words and passages depreciative of the English, and not observed at the time, the French plumed themselves, according to de Villiers's report, on having had the English sign.

That Washington and his officers were misled by the translation is certain, but subsequent events showed that this was from ignorance of the language on the part of Captain van Braam and not from treachery as was at first surmised. The historian,

Jared Sparks, in the Writings of Washington, has made a very thorough study and exposition of this matter, to which work, vol. ii, persons particularly interested in the subject are respectfully referred for the evidences and all the details of the capitulation, which fully exculpate Washington from blame in the matter.

In an early part of this work it has been shown that Washington had declined the chief command of the expedition to the Ohio on account of his youth and his want of experience for so great an undertaking, but he accepted the second place. After recruiting his regiment by direction of the Governor of Virginia, he marched his forces from Alexandria westward and won the distinction of having led the first American troops across the Alleghany Mountains to build forts and to reclaim the Great West to civilization.

Colonel Joshua Fry was commissioned Colonel of the Virginia Regiment, and made commander of the expedition to the Ohio. He was a man of character but advanced in years, and died May 31st, 1754, en route to assume direction of the military operations in the field. This promoted Washington to be Colonel and made him the responsible director of the troops under his command.

Governor Dinwiddie, who was more noted for zeal than for ability in military affairs, on learning of the failure of the campaign, was impatient to organize another expedition and send it over the mountains at once to recover the defeat and make good the pretensions of the English in the Ohio country. To do this required men and money. The Assembly of Virginia were indifferent to the matter, or at least did not partake of the Governor's enthusiasm or sense of duty in the premises and in effect opposed the measure, for which action the Governor, as a rebuke, prorogued the Assembly in September, 1754. He wrote to the Ministry "That the people seemed to him infatuated, and that he was persuaded the progress of the French would never effectually be opposed except by an act of Parliament to compel the Colonies to contribute to the common cause independently of the Assemblies." The Virginia forces which had been in the battle of the Great Meadows under the command of Colonel Washington, after resting a short time at Will's Creek, returned through Winchester to Alexandria, Va. Captain Mackaye's, the two independent companies from New York and the one from North Carolina remained at Will's Creek and built "Fort Mount Pleasant," afterward named Fort Cumberland. These

troops were placed under the command of Colonel James Innes of North Carolina, who had been commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie June 4th, 1754, commander of the expedition to the Ohio. None of these forces, however, had joined the Virginia regiment under Colonel Washington until after the battle of the Great Meadows. Indeed Colonel Innes only arrived at Winchester, en route to Will's Creek, on the 9th of July, 1754, with about 150 men and these were without arms (*see Governor Sharp's letter in which he says he supplied them with arms from Maryland.*) Washington, on learning the desire of Governor Dinwiddie to march the forces then on hand over the mountains to the head of the Ohio, gave a calm but full consideration to the question of the expediency and practicability of the scheme during the fall or winter. He submitted his views in a deferential letter to the Governor, reviewing the whole situation in a masterly manner from a military standpoint, but without changing the Governor's opinion. He then wrote August 11th, 1754 (*see Sparks*), to the Hon. Wm. Fairfax, who was a member of the Governor's Council. In this letter he showed that every essential to success was wanting and could not be supplied in time, and set forth the reasons against another expedition that fall in such a convincing

manner that the project lost the support of the Council and was deferred for a more favorable opportunity.

When the House of Burgesses met in October, they voted £20,000 for military purposes against the French, while England had already granted £10,000 in gold with considerable military stores, to be at the disposal of the Governor, for the same purpose. The Governor, however, had by this time concluded to reorganize the Virginia troops, and in a manner which he supposed would effectually settle all questions of rank between the Colonial and British forces and minimise the influence of Colonial officers. His plan was to raise ten independent companies of 100 men, each company to be commanded by a Captain, and this officer to be inferior to any officer of the same rank holding a commission from the King.

The views which Colonel Washington held on the question of rank and the proper recognition of Colonial officers, and the sound reasons he gave for his conclusions, he set forth in repeated letters to the Governor, and also to members of the Council, which he recapitulated, in a concise manner, in a letter of the 10th of June, 1754, to Governor Dinwiddie (*see Sparks*). He naturally became the champion of equal rights and honors among officers of the same grade, having

like responsibilities, whether Colonial or British, the senior officer taking command when serving together.

The effect of the Governor's plan of reorganization was to reduce Colonel Washington to the rank of Captain and place him under officers he had commanded. To such treatment a man of Colonel Washington's spirit could not submit. He therefore resigned his commission and returned to the management of his plantation at Mount Vernon.

There seems to have been with the Ministry, a spirit which Governor Dinwiddie promoted or fully concurred in, not to permit Colonial field officers to hold any high military rank. British pride encouraged this supercilious assumption of superiority in the King's commission, a theory which found a warm supporter in the Governor of Virginia. If, however, the Governor had had tact equal to his loyalty, he would at all hazards have procured a commission for Colonel Washington in the British army, which it is probable would at that time have been accepted by him.

But had not Washington resigned when he did, he would have been forced eventually to retire, as the position he took in demanding rank was covertly opposed by Governor Dinwiddie, and was not acceptable to the traditions and notions of the British Min-

istry, so that the Government during the winter, or before General Braddock came to Virginia in the spring of 1755, had adopted a specific regulation to govern His Majesty's forces in North America, which directed "that all such as were commissioned "by the King, or by his general Commander-in-Chief, in North America, should take rank of all "officers commissioned by the Governors of the "separate provinces. And, further, that the general "field officers of the provincial troops should have "no rank when serving with the general and field "officers commissioned by the Crown; but that all "Captains and other inferior officers of the Royal "troops should take rank over provincial officers of "the same grade having older commissions." This code of regulations but crystallized the claims of the officers of the British army, while serving in America. The promulgation of these rules had the effect to keep up a perpetual irritation and to give point to the injustice and hardships heaped upon the officers of the Colonies when serving with those of the Crown. It is true the rigor of this rule was somewhat changed through the influence of Lord Pitt, but never fully relieved of its sting of injustice.

Governor Sharp, of Maryland, was appointed by the King in the fall of 1754 to the command of the

forces to be sent against the French, thereby superseding Colonel Innes, who held his commission from Governor Dinwiddie. General Sharp appreciated the ability and character of Washington, and either wrote a personal letter or had others write inviting him to resume his station and former rank in the service. He also had Colonel Fitzhugh, second in command, write to him to the same purport. That Washington's views may be properly understood, his letter in reply to Colonel Fitzhugh is given in full :

To Col^o William Fitzhugh, Belvoir :

November 15th, 1754.

Dear Sir :

I was favoured with your letter from Rousby Hall of the 4th Instant — It demands my best acknowledgments, for the particular marks of Esteem you have expressed therein ; and for the kind assurances of his Excellency Governor Sharp's good wishes towards me. I also thank you,—and sincerely, Sir,—for your friendly intention of making my situation easy, if I return to the Service ; and I do not doubt, could I submit to the Terms, that I should be as happy under your command, in the absence of the General, as under any gentleman's whatever : but, I think the disparity between the present offer of a

Company and my former Rank too great to expect any real satisfaction or enjoyment in a Corps, where I once did, or thought I had a right to, command, even if his Excellency had power to suspend the orders received in the Secretary of War's letter; which, by the bye, I am very far from thinking he either has, or will attempt to do, without fuller Instructions than I believe he has: especially, too, as there has been a representation of this matter by Governour Dinwiddie, and, I believe, the Assembly of this State; we have advices that it was received before Demmarree obtained his Letter.

All that I presume the General can do, is, to prevent the different Corps from interfering, which will occasion the Duty to be done by Corps, instead of detachments; a very inconvenient way, as is found by experience.*

You make mention in your letter of my continuing in the Service and retaining my Colo. Commission. This idea has filled me with surprise: for, if you think me capable of holding a Commission that has

* Note by Sparks: "That is, the Independent and Colonial Companies must act separately, and not in concert by detachments from each. The inconvenience of this method was proved in the case of Captain Mackaye, previously to the battle of the Great Meadows. Colonel Innes, at Will's Creek, contrived to keep up a nominal command by acting under two commissions, his old one from the King received in the former war, and his new one from Governour Dinwiddie, to each of which he appealed as occasion required."

neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the Commission itself.

Besides, Sir, if I had time, I could enumerate many good reasons that forbid all thoughts of my Returning, and which, to you, or any other, would, upon the strictest scrutiny, appear to be well founded. I must be reduced to a very low Command, and subjected to that of many who have acted as my inferior Officers. In short, every Captain bearing the King's Commission, every half-pay Officer, or other appearing with such commission, would rank before me; for these reasons, I choose to submit to the loss of Health, which I have, however, already sustained (not to mention that of Effects), and the fatigue I have undergone in our first Efforts, rather than subject myself to the same inconveniences, and run the risque of a second disappointment. I shall have the consolation itself of knowing that I have opened the way, when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a Superior Enemy; That I have hitherto stood the heat and brunt of the Day, and escaped untouched in time of extreme danger; and that I have the Thanks of my Country, for the Services I have rendered it.

It shall not sleep in silence my having received information that those "peremptory orders from Home," which, you say, could not be dispensed with, for reducing the Regiment into Independent Companies, were generated, hatched, and brought from Will's Creek. Ingenuous treatment and plain dealing—I at least expected.* It is to be hoped the project will answer; it shall meet with my acquiescence in every thing except personal Services. I herewith enclose Governor Sharp's Letter, which I beg you will return to him, with my Acknowledgments for the favour he intended me; assure him, Sir, as you truly may, of my reluctance to quit the Service, and of the pleasure I should have received in attending his Fortunes. Also inform him, that

* Note by Sparks: "It would seem that some unfair purpose was suspected in this matter of reducing the regiment, and thereby throwing out the higher officers. Nor was this a groundless suspicion. Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Earl of Halifax, on the 25th October:—'As there have been some disputes between the regulars and the officers appointed by me, I am now determined to reduce our regiment into Independent Companies, so that from our forces there will be no other distinguished officer above a captain.'—It is clear, therefore, that this was done at the governor's own motion, probably in concert with General Sharpe, and not by any orders, which had as yet been received from higher authority. He had written for instructions, but none had then arrived, nor in fact did they arrive, till brought out by General Braddock the winter following. It is no wonder that a high-minded officer should be displeased at such a manœuver, cloaked as it was under the pretence of 'peremptory orders from Home.' Doubtless the arrangement was considered essential to the prosperity of the service, but this would hardly be taken as an apology for a concealed design, by a man of spirit and high motives, who felt himself entitled to frankness and confidence."

it was to obey the call of Honour, and the advice of Friends, I declined it, and not to gratify any desire I had to leave the military line.—

My inclinations are strongly bent to arms.

The length of this & the small room I have left, tell me how necessary it is to conclude, which I will do, as you always shall find—

Truly & Sincerely

Your most hb^{le} Servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.*

Nov. 15th, 1754.

* Letter copied from Transcript in the Department of State — with literal exactness.

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